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CATALOGUE
OF THE
COINS OF THE NĀGA KINGS OF PADMĀVATĪ
(WITH ONE MAP & TEN PLATES)

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By

H. V. TRIVEDI, M.A., D.LITT., काव्य-तीर्थ
Dy. DIRECTOR OF ARCHÆOLOGY & MUSEUMS,
GWALOR, MADHYA PRADESH

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FOREWORD

The Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvati is an important addition to the source books of Ancient Indian History and Archæology. Though the research work in this sphere started nearly a century and quarter ago, there are still many notable gaps in it and we can hope to fill them gradually only if source books prepared on scientific lines are published by competent scholars. Such books based on inscriptions, literary works or the accounts of foreign pilgrims and merchants are fairly numerous; but those based on coins are very few.

Coins of many dynasties of ancient and medieval India have no doubt been published, but only in a scattered manner. They usually appear sometimes in stray articles in research journals or in the Catalogues of coins of the different Museums. Naturally the treatment they receive under these circumstances is far from satisfactory and comprehensive. Take, for instance, the case of the Nāga coins themselves. The latest and most easily available book on the subject, *The Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* in the British Museum (1936) does not deal with them at all; *The Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, (1906) refers only to the coins of two Nāga rulers and dismisses them in two pages. It is only in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* published nearly a century ago (in 1865) and in the *Coins of Medieval India* published about 60 years back (1894) that we get an account of the coins of the nine Nāga rulers. Both these books are long out of print and so the student of Ancient Indian history and numismatics finds it almost impossible to get any information about the Nāga coinage. This is particularly unfortunate, because the history of the Nāga dynasty is very largely based upon its coinage.

The publication of the present work thus meets a long felt want. It does not however merely put together information long out of print. It is a fresh study of the subject and makes a valuable addition to our knowledge. Cunningham's treatment of the Nāga coins was based upon some specimens that he had come across during his explorations. Dr. H. V. Trivedi's work is based upon a careful study and analysis of several thousand coins in the Gwalior Archæological Museum and upon hundreds of coins he had himself collected. As a consequence

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his book refers to some new Nāga kings and describes several new varieties of the kings already known to us. His careful study of the symbols has enabled Dr. Trivedi to point out how they differ with denominations at least in the case of Bhavanāga. The treatment of palaeography and metrology of the coins is also new and has increased the value of the work. For the first time, Dr. Trivedi tries to settle the relative chronology of the different Nāga rulers and his views in this connection are worth consideration. The work illustrates Nāga coins in five good plates, all varieties of all rulers being included in them.

Pawāyā was one of the important Nāga capitals and it is but in the fitness of things that Pl. VI should illustrate other coins found at its site. Plates VII to IX give valuable palaeographical charts, prepared with great care, and Pl. X illustrates the symbols occurring on the Nāga coins. The treatment of the subject is thus complete and comprehensive.

The Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvati is thus characterised by all the features which a scientific book on the coinage of a dynasty should possess.

The publication of the present scientific and comprehensive work on the Nāga coinage attests as much to the numismatic enthusiasm of its author as to the enlightened patronage of the Madhya Pradesh Government which has financed its project. The publication of this book in the centenary year of the 1857 Movement is a happy coincidence; for about seventeen hundred years ago the Nāgas of Padmāvati had made their own contribution to the struggle for independence against the domination of the foreign Kushāṇa power.

A. S. Altekar,

Director,

K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna,

and

Chairman, Numismatic Society of India.

Patna,

March, 1957.

PREFACE

This work presents for the first time the results of a systematic and exhaustive study of the coins of the Nāga rulers of Padmāvati, now represented by the tiny hamlet of Padam-pawāyā in the Gwalior district of Madhya Pradesh.

The coins of the Nāga rulers were first published by A. Cunningham in *J.A.S.B.* for 1865, pp. 115 ff.; and in this line he was followed by scholars like E. J. Rapson, K.P. Jayaswal, Dr. A.S. Altekar and Shri. M.B. Garde, whose writings on the subject, while throwing fresh light on it, have also indicated how much important work still remains to be done in the field. Hence the present attempt, which, it is hoped, will be useful to some extent in reconstructing the history of the house which played an important role in emancipating the Gangetic plain from the yoke of the foreign Kushāns.

All coins dealt with in this work have been obtained from the ancient site of Padmāvati, and a few from that of Kāntipurī, Kutwār in the Morena district of Madhya Pradesh, as will be shown in appendix A of the *Catalogue*. The site of Padmāvati is one of the most prolific fields for coin collectors in North India and old coins appear there during rains when the surface earth is washed off by first showers. A large number of these coins was collected regularly every year, from 1913 to 1940, and stored in the Archæological Museum at Gwalior, in lots, each lot bearing a label noting only the year in which it was obtained; and excepting only a few of them which were placed in the coin cabinet of the Museum, all were in the same dirty condition in which they were picked up. This large collection, consisting of several thousands and in any case not less than a lac of specimens, was put by me to a systematic treatment, and the present work is the result of a patient three years' study, aiming at the preparation of a handy work of reference, not only enlisting the different types known so far and putting them to a systematic classification but also revealing many more new ones with their varieties.

The plan of the work is as follows. It begins with a brief historical account of the Nāga house, sufficient enough to understand the

coinage and coin-types enumerated in this work. The history of the dynasty bristles with controvertial problems, particularly relating to its origin, the different houses and their mutual relationship and existence of the *old* and the *new* Nāga houses. Discussion on all these problems has been avoided here, as it falls outside the scope of the present work. Attention to these points, however, has been drawn with a view to enable the reader to form his own opinion on them. In some of these cases incidental remarks have been made, in the light of the new numismatic material dealt with here.

Section II of the Introduction deals with the coinage and coin-types, which have been treated exhaustively, utilising the whole material known so far. It explains the principles followed by me while classifying and grouping the coins into types and their varieties, devised after a careful and patient study of the whole lot.

In the subsequent Section I have dealt with the palaeography of the letters as they appear on the coins. I have shown how the script found on these specimens has an important bearing on the development of the Nāgarī alphabet, and I have spared no pains to treat the topic as thoroughly as I could, illustrating the same with three Plates VII-IX.

Section IV of the Introduction is devoted to the study of the metrology of the coins where I have confined my remarks only to the specimens which have been included in the *Catalogue*; and Section V deals with the study of the symbols, bringing out their significance. Some of the different forms of these symbols have been illustrated on Pl. XB.

The Coin *Catalogue* proper gives a complete analysis of coins arranged under types and varieties, first king-wise, in the sequence of chronology as proposed in the historical portion, and then according to their descending weights, taken in metric grammes and then converted into English grains, to gain accuracy in the study of metrology. The size of coins is given in inches and tenths.

The system of classification and grouping of these coins into types and their varieties, as adopted here, is my own, devised after a careful and thorough study of the whole lot. I have also given a list of new types and varieties not represented in the *Catalogue* but published elsewhere.

In taking the obverse and reverse sides of the coins I have followed Cunningham, for the sake of convenience, and the legends have been reproduced in the Nāgarī script.

For restoration of letters and medieval vowels the following marks have been used:

1. Restoration within square brackets, as [ॠ], shows that the letter within brackets has faintly come out, is visible in traces or has disappeared, leaving only the space.

2. A short dash within brackets denotes that the letter is altogether missing, showing space for it, whereas a long dash shows that more letters which were intended or engraved are now missing.

3. The mark ' above a letter shows that the letter is partially clipped at edge or is out of flan or the medial vowel which was attached to its top is clipped at edge or is missing. The same mark when put below the letter denotes the same with reference to its bottom.

There are three appendices in the end. Appendix A identifies the Nāga capitals, giving a general description of the sites of two of them, viz. Padmāvati and Kāntipurī. To illustrate the former of these sites, I have appended a map, showing the exact position of the area excavated and the relative position of the archæological remains discovered on the surface. Appendix B deals with the provenance of the Nāga coins, helping the reader to gauge the extent of the kingdom of the house. Appendix C enumerates the different series of coins picked up from the site of Padmāvati, illuminating its ancient history. The Addendum in the end notices, in brief, some unique coins from Bhilsa, which are of special interest, throwing light on the origin of the Nāga coinage.

The work has been illustrated with ten plates. The selection of coins for illustration has been liberal as I could not resist the temptation of illustrating such specimens as, besides giving the complete and distinct legends, go to evince some other peculiarities of their own, for example, those of palæography, varieties of letters, their size and combination of two letters in a peculiar way, as also of the different types of the same symbol, enabling the reader to form an idea of the art of the time.

Plates I-VI illustrate the important coins chosen from those described in the work. The photographs show the coins enlarged to about

one and one half of the original size, in order to facilitate the reading. The following three Plates (VII-IX) give the Brāhmī legends in exactly the same form in which they occur on the coins, traced accurately from the drawings. The process adopted here has been to give the drawing of the legend of one of the best preserved specimens of each of the rulers, in original, along with its rendering in Nāgarī and transliteration in English. The different forms of letters occurring on the other coins of the same ruler have also been shown side by side.

To make the work accurate and up-to-date, I have used material from my own papers on Nāga coins, published in *J.N.S.I.*, and have also utilised the investigations of my predecessors in the field, with due regard to them. As regards diacritical marks, I have used them in all ancient names and also in modern place names which are little known.

To sort and examine the large collection of coins and to pick up from it such specimens as may be found worth recording was indeed an arduous task, involving cleaning, classifying and enlisting them. The work has been printed under some unusual circumstances, and, in spite of devoting considerable pains, some typographical and other errors have unfortunately crept in, for which I crave the indulgence of scholars. Some of these errors have been noticed in the Corrigenda.

It would be ungracious to allow this work to appear without recording the large debt which I owe to the Government of Madhya Pradesh for allowing the printing of this work as a Government Publication. I owe a deep sense of gratitude to the Education Minister Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma and to the Education Secretary Shri. R.P. Naik, who took keen interest in it and but for whose help it would not have seen the light of the day. I am grateful to Dr. A.S. Altekar, Chairman of the Numismatic Society of India, for his stimulating interest and constructive criticism in the preparation of the present work, to which he has kindly contributed a Foreword. My thanks are due to the departmental photographer Shri. V.S. Vaidya and the Artist-modeller Shri. D.P. Sharma for helping me in preparing the plates.

Gwalior
March, 1957.

H. V. Trivedi

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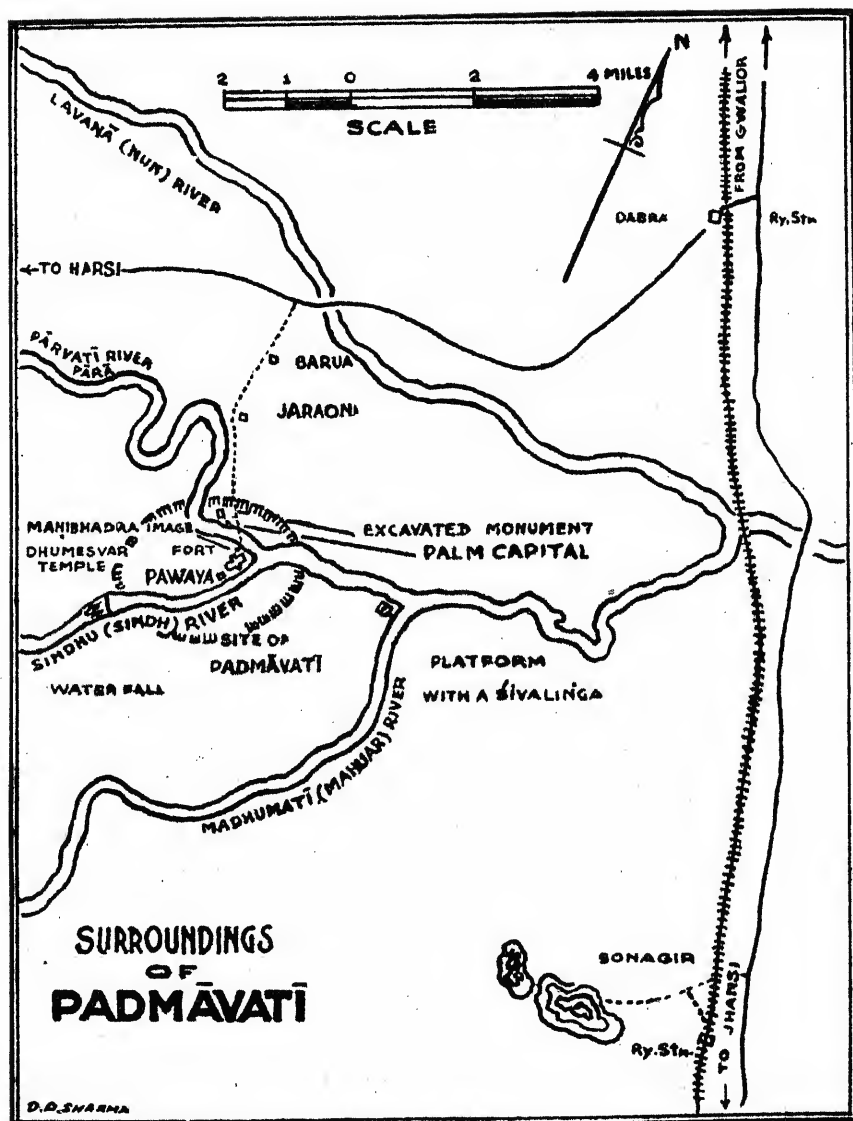
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- I. Vṛisha-Bhīma-Skanda.
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CORRIGENDA

- Page ii, n. *: for 'A. D,' read 'A. D,,'; after 'p.' read 31.
- Page viii, n. †, first line: the last but one word to be read as 'ascertain'.
- Page xiv, at the end of para 4, add: 'May it be the *sūchī* used in *aṣvamedha* for piercing the body of a horse (?). See *Kātyāyana Ś.S.*, XX, 7 and commentary.
- Page xxvi, 1. 17: for 'N' read XXX 'N'.
- Page xxvii, 1. 25: for 'rulers.' read 'rulers,'.
- Page xxviii, last line: the second word is 'symbol'; after para 3, add:
'Was the higher standard intended for issuing a double
kāktñī.
- Page 7: in description of Var. *b*, 'after peacock to' add '1.'
- Page 11, No. 3: for 'Pl. I' read 'Pl. II'.
- Page 23, No. 19: after 'XVII' add 'Pt. ii'.
- Page 25, No. 32: for 'No. 5' read 'No. 6'.
- Page 35, No. 65: for '4' read '.4'.
- Page 36, No. 72: after 'XVII' add 'Pt. ii'.
- Page 41, No. 21: 1. 9: for 'so' read 'so as'.
- Page 44, No. 8: for 'Rev' read 'Rev,,'; and in No. 10: for 'va' read 'Va'.
- Page 45, No. 24: for '12.84' read '18.84'.
- Page 51, No. 20: for '45' read '.45'.
- Page 52, No. 31: in size column, for '13' read '.3'.
- Page 53, n: for 'far' read 'so far'.
- Page 55, No. 6: for 'Skanda' read 'Bhīma'; and in
No. 8: for '26' read '27'.
- Page 60, 1.2: for 'Kutwār, (Morena)' read 'Kutwār (Morena),,'; and
in (vi): for 'unually' read 'unusually'.



INTRODUCTION

I. Historical Outline

The Nāga rulers, who are well known for reviving the old Hindu tradition of freedom, occupy an important place in ancient Indian history, but their origin and the account of their reign are still shrouded in considerable obscurity. What little we know about this dynasty is that it began its political career some time towards the close of the second century A. D., and, emerging into prominence when the foreign Kushān power was disintegrating, succeeded in driving it out from the Gangetic valley. This was the time when a number of indigenous powers, for example, the Yaudheyas, the Arjunāyaṇas and the Mālavas, were gaining strength, and though our sources of information do not help us to solve this knotty problem satisfactorily, we propose to review here the political situation of the time and also to study to what extent this illustrious dynasty participated in the struggle for restoring freedom by putting an end to the foreign domination.

None of the rulers belonging to this house is so far known to have issued an inscription, and the information contained in the original sources, viz. the Purāṇas, is vague and of little practical value, giving rise to sharp differences of opinions. The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, for example, discloses the existence of nine (*nava*) Nāga kings who reigned at Padmāvati, Kāntipurī and Mathurā,* and this account is corroborated by the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, which mentions two houses of the Nāgas — one at Padmāvati and the other at Mathurā, the number of kings at each of the places being stated to be nine and seven respectively.† In this connection it is worth noting that the *Vāyu-* is silent about the Nāga rule at Kāntipurī, which is referred to only in the *Vishṇu-*, though in a passing and incidental way; and on this account this place has been taken as

*नवनागाः मथुरायां कान्तिपुर्यां पद्मावत्याम्; (ed. by Jivananda Bhattacharya), p. 585; *D.K.A.*, p. 53.

†नवनाका(गा)स्तु भोक्ष्यन्ति पुरीं पद्मावतीं नृपाः ।

मथुरां च पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोक्ष्यन्ति सप्त वै ॥

D.K.A., p. 53. Some texts read *Champāvati* for *Padmāvati*, but that reading is obviously incorrect. So is the reading *Nāka* for *Nāga*; see *J.N.S.I.*, V, p. 118, n. 2.

a subsidiary capital, not as important as the other two.* This view will be examined below, while identifying the place with Kutwār in Madhya Pradesh.

The use of the word *nava* in the passages quoted above has given rise to a keen controversy with relation to the history of the Nāga rulers. In his important work entitled *The History of India*, 150-350 A. D., K. P. Jayaswal takes it to mean *new*, and on its basis he holds that there existed an old Nāga house also, whose members he takes to be the same as mentioned in the Purāṇas as ruling at Vidiśā. According to him, the new Nāgas who flourished in the post-Śuṅga period, were those who belonged to the different branches of the Bhāraśiva Nāga family, ruling at Padmāvati, Mathurā and Kāntipurī.† This theory has been critically examined by Dr. A. S. Altekar, who takes it to be untenable, showing that there is no evidence in support of the distinction between the old and the new Nāga houses. But it is all immaterial for our present purpose, and therefore instead of reproducing the details here, we invite the attention of the reader to Dr. Altekar's learned article in *J.N.S.I.*, V, pp. 111 ff.

Of the three Nāga houses mentioned above, the one ruling at Padmāvati appears to be the more important one, and here we are concerned only with the history of this house.‡ To understand fully how this illustrious house originated and rose to power, it is necessary to give a brief account of the political situation prevailing in India and particularly in its northern provinces towards the beginning of the third century A. D., when a major part of the country was governed by two great foreign powers, viz. (1) the Western Kshatrapas ruling in Mālwa and Saurāshtra, and (2) the Kushāns, in the whole of the region extending from Bactria to Bihar.

The closing years of the second century A. D. witnessed a political upheaval, resulting in the termination of the foreign yoke. The Kushān emperor Vāsudeva I was succeeded by Kanishka III in c. 180 A. D.; his capital was far away in Seistan and he, therefore, governed his extensive kingdom through the agency of the Satraps or

**History of India*, 150-350 A. D., by K. P. Jayaswal, referred to as '*History*' in this work, p.

†*History*, pp. 9 ff.

‡As will be discussed below, there appears to be one and the same house, and not three, as generally held.

governors. This system of government failed to exercise an effective control over his vast kingdom, which, as a result, was partitioned by the governors among themselves. It was the time when the Kushān power had to face some external troubles, during the reign of Vāsudeva II (c. 210-230 A. D.), who was the successor and probably a son of Kanishka III. These troubles emanated from the Sassanians who had then founded a powerful kingdom in Persia.*

To the south of the Kushān kingdom lay the dominions of the other foreign power, that of the Western Kshatrapas, whose greatest ruler Rudradāman I died in about 170 A. D.; and following his death there was the well known and pro-longed struggle between his son Rudrasimha I and the latter's nephew Jivadāman; as a result of this set-back, the W. Kshatrapas had to lose a portion of their Kingdom to the great Sātavāhana conqueror Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.† Thus the Śaka rule too, which was at its zenith during the reign of Rudradāman, suffered a decline almost simultaneously along with that of the Kushāns, though the reasons in this case were different.

The weakness and the consequent disintegration of these two great powers, which occurred more or less about the same time, gave an opportunity to indigenous powers not only for re-asserting themselves but also for re-establishing the republican Indian tradition which they had inherited. The Yaudheyas, whose independence was lost in the Kushān supremacy and who, in their attempt to rise, had once again to suffer a reverse at the hands of Rudradāman I in c. 145 A. D., succeeded in occupying their home-land, the northern part of Rajasthan and the south-east Punjab. To their north lay the territories of the Kuṇindas, who governed the upper course of the Sutlej and the Beas, and the region around Jaipur, which lay to the south of the Yaudheya kingdom, was occupied by the Arjunāyana republics. Another independent republic to the south of the Yaudheyas was that of the Mālavas who were occupying the region around Tonk, Udaipur and Ajmer; they too had to suffer a set-back in the Western Kshatrapa period, and, in consequence of the weakness of the Kshatrapa power, they too were gaining strength. As seen above, the territories around Padmāvati and Mathurā were under the Nāga rulers, and to their west were the Maukharis, whose existence is revealed by the Badvā stone

*N. H. I. P., VI, p. 17.

†Ibid., p. 48; B. M. C. A. W. K., p. xxxvii.

inscription* and who were probably feudatories of the Nāgas. The region lying to the south-east of the kingdom of the Nāga rulers was then ruled by the Maghas, with their capital at Kauśāmbī, which had been snatched away from the Kushāns by one of the rulers of the name of Bhadramagha, in c. 155 A. D.†

The foregoing account would give an idea of the political situation prevailing in North India when the Nāgas were gaining strength, along with the powers enumerated above. Almost all these powers were watching an opportunity to re-assert themselves; but which of them actually drove away the Kushāns, who were of a foreign extraction, is not definitely known and on this point wide differences of opinion prevail. K. P. Jayaswal, who was a pioneer worker in the field, maintained that the Nāga rulers who are the Bhāraśivas of the inscription, played an important and leading role in ousting the Kushāns from Āryāvarta.‡ His views, however, have been critically examined by Dr. Altekar, who concluded that since there is nothing to show that there was any federation to work under a common leadership, the credit does not go to the Nāga rulers alone. But at the same time he has expressed the view that the lead in inflicting the initial blow goes perhaps to the Yaudheyas, in cooperation with the Kuṇḍas, who were their northern neighbours. This theory is exclusively based on the evidence of the numismatic material alone, as he himself admits; and he further states that since the coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II are not found to the east of the Sutlej, it is evident that they must have lost all cis-Sutlej territories to the Yaudheyas whose coins are available there.× But this view, which is based on the numismatic evidence alone, deserves some modification, for we find that almost during the same time some other powers too began to strike their own coins, as independent rulers, and that these coins are available in their respective territories, exactly in the same way as those of the Yaudheyas are to be found in the regions referred to above. Here it is also worth noting that if the Yaudheyas used the term *jayah* on their coins, the same we find in the case of the Arjunāyaṇas and the Mālvas also.+ That we do

*E. I., XXIII, p. 42.

†For details see *N. H. I. P.*, pp. 28 ff.

‡*History*, p. 23.

×*N. H. I. P.*, VI, p. 29.

+In view of this the Jishnu coins appear to be Mālava coins because of the use of the root "ji" as also shown by their size, weight and fabric. It is worth noting that in the collection from Pawāyā which I examined I picked up some Jishnu coins also.

not find its use on the Nāga coins may probably be due to their having their republics of a different nature.*

If the numismatic evidence alone is to be relied on, it is worth noting that a number of Mālava and Kauśāmbī coins were also picked up by me in my examination of the big collection of coins from Pawāyā. On the basis of this discovery we shall have to conclude either that the Mālavas and the rulers of Kauśāmbī had Padmāvatī under their sway for some time or that there was a sort of federation among the three, viz., the Nāgas, the Mālavas and the rulers of Kauśāmbī, for driving away the Kushāns from Āryāvarta. But we have no definite evidence to establish either of these theories.†

On a general review of the circumstances and with the scanty material we have, it appears that all these powers, viz., the Yaudheyas, the Arjunāyaṇas, the Kuṇindas, the Mālavas and the Nāgas—worked in their own individual way and with the resources they could command, but almost simultaneously; and it would be reasonable and safe to hold that each of these powers succeeded in displacing the local Kushān governor. Thus, whereas the Yaudheyas and the Kuṇindas may have succeeded in regaining the north-eastern part of Rajasthan and east Punjab, the Mālavas the Ajmer region, the Nāgas the region extending from Padmāvatī to Mathurā, and so on and so forth. It was not easy for any one of these, even for the Yaudheyas who appear to have been the strongest of all, to successfully challenge a power which had become firmly established over almost the whole of North India and whose reserve forces were centered in Central Asia, which was their home-land. How the Nāgas succeeded in capturing Padmāvatī and the surrounding region will be discussed below, after giving an account of the originator of the house, who appears to be Vṛisha on the evidence of numismatics.

While publishing a coin of Vṛisha (Nāga) in the *J. N. S. I.*, XV, p. 121, I had concluded that he was a Nāga prince and probably the originator of the Nāga house which flourished at Pawāyā and that he had established himself at Bhilsa some time in the latter half of the second century A. D. I had also stated that in view of the discovery of that

* *History*, p. 54.

† It is possible to presume that the coins of the Mālavas who were then occupying the neighbouring region of Tonk, may have easily travelled to Pawāyā, but how the coins of Kauśāmbī could be found there is inexplicable.

specimen at Bhilsa, it may be held that this king carved out a principality for himself in the region around that place and also that the term *Vṛishas* of the purāṇas has to be interpreted not in the sense of 'bulls', but in that of a dynastic appellation.* In my examination of the collection of coins from Pawāyā I picked up about two dozen specimens showing the emblem of bull, facing the front and bearing the name *Vṛishanāga* in the legend; and they throw additional light on this interesting problem. They have been enlisted separately in this work, but what is worth noting is that they go to confirm my hypothesis that *Vṛisha* belonged to the *Nāga* family and also that he had some successor or successors whose names we do not know. The latter of these conclusions is derived on the basis of a coin showing the name *Vṛishabhava* very clearly in the legend engraved on it; and this I take in the sense of a successor (or son ?) of *Vṛisha* (*Vṛishāt bhavaḥ=jātaḥ*).

In his pioneer work K. P. Jayaswal also maintains that the Bhāraṣiva *Nāga* dynasty was founded by a *Nāga* ruler named Nava, who ruled from c. 140 to c. 170 A. D. and that he was succeeded by Virasena, who ousted the Kushāns from the upper U. P., Mathurā and the eastern Punjab. According to him, this Virasena is the originator of the three *Nāga* branches which ruled at Padmāvati, Kāntipurī and Mathurā, the kings being known as the *nava* (new) *Nāgas* after the name of the king Nava.† We have seen above that the word *nava* of the Purāṇas has to be taken in the sense of nine, and this whole thesis of Jayaswal has been examined by Dr. Altekar, who, advancing some other arguments, observes that not a single coin of Nava (or of Virasena) has been found at Pawāyā.‡ In this respect it may be stated here, however, that I found coins of each of these rulers from the lot acquired from that place, and in view of this find, which is known for the first time and which will be dealt with below, some of the views expressed by Dr. Altekar deserve re-examination;× but we have nothing to show that both these rulers belonged to the same stock as of the *Nāga* rulers of Padmāvati and what is particularly

*Nor can this be regarded as a scribal error for *nṛipāḥ*, as observed by Dr. Altekar in *J.N.S.I.*, V, p. 115.

†Jayaswal, *History*, pp. 19 ff.

‡*J.N.S.I.*, V, p. 121.

×It is also possible that a number of coins of these two rulers may have been found at Padmāvati and may have escaped the notice of scholars, being disposed off with those of the lots discovered there from time to time.

noteworthy is that their coins are of different type, fabric and size, as will be seen from the illustrations on Pl. V, 21-22. They have no affinity to the coinage of the Nāga rulers of Padmāvati, and it is difficult to hold with Jayaswal that Nava and Virasena belonged to the earlier stock of the Nāgas from whom the Mathurā and the Padmāvati Nāga houses had branched off.

Thus, with the scanty material which we have at our disposal, what we are able to know is that the Nāga house probably originated at Vidiśā in east Malwa, from where they moved to the north up to Padmāvati, Kāntipurī and Mathurā; and also that they were one of the leading powers in ousting the Kushāns from part of the Gangetic valley. It is not possible to know definitely whether the three houses ruling at these three places were related to each other or it was one and the same house which moved on and on from Padmāvati to Kāntipurī* and from there to Mathurā in their successful attacks on the Kushāns. But the latter of these alternatives can be inferred from the epigraphical statement describing them as obtaining the holy water of the Ganges for their coronation, winning it from the prowess of their arms.†

The same inscription goes on to state that the Nāga rulers performed ten horse sacrifices; and this performance may be not only to commemorate their victories over the Kushāns but also to proclaim their liberating Āryāvarta from the foreigners who were designated as *mlechchhas* by the staunch indigenous people. Jayaswal is probably right in holding that "the Kushāns tried to put an end to the Hindu social system by imposing on them a non-Brahmanical system"; thus it was the age of "national calamity,"‡ and in view of this, the Nāga house aptly deserves the credit of liberating a major part of the country from the foreign yoke and also of reviving the age-hallowed Hindu cultural tradition.

It is rather strange that this illustrious house has left not even a single epigraphical record and even the names of the members

*On the identification of this Place with kutwar in Morena district, see below.

† 'असंभारसंनिवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्धनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्यमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानां दशाश्वमेधावमृथस्नातानां भारशिवानां महाराज-श्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य'...

‡History, pp. 41 ff.

belonging to it are known only from their coins or from stray references to some of them in the epigraphical and literary sources. As seen above, the Purāṇas state that there were nine rulers in the Nāga house of Padmāvati, but the coins reveal the names of twelve; they are: Vṛisha, Bhīma, Skanda, Vasu, Bṛihaspati, Vibhu, Ravi, Bhava, Prabhākara, Deva, Vyāghra and Gaṇapati.* At Pawāyā we find the coins of all these rulers, with the exception of Vyāghra, who is so far known only from a solitary specimen which was discovered at Narwar and published by Cunningham years ago.†

Of the names mentioned above, only two, viz. Bhava and Gaṇapati, figure in epigraphical documents, the references being only accidental. A Vākāṭaka record states that Rudrasena I of that dynasty was the daughter's son of king Bhavanāga. From this reference Jayaswal infers that Bhavanāga, the maternal grandfather of the Vākāṭaka Rudrasena, was a member of the Bhāraṣīva house, and Dr. Altekar has given strong reasons to show that he was no other than the Bhavanāga whose coins are found at Padmāvati and who belonged to the same stock as of Bhīma, Skanda and Gaṇapati.‡

Rudrasena was on the Vākāṭaka throne from c. 340 to 360 A. D. and therefore his maternal grandfather Bhavanāga, as rightly observed by Dr. Altekar, must have flourished in the earlier years of the fourth century A. D. A long reign of about 35 years has been assigned to him in view of the large number of types and varieties of coins issued by him. Thus he appears to have been on the throne from c. 310 to c. 345 A. D.

The other Nāga ruler about whom we have definite historical information is Gaṇapati. This name has been included in the Allahabad

*These names appear to be assumed at the time of coronation (*abhisheka-nāma*).

†*Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 24, No. 22 & pl. I have no means to ascertain whether the coin of Vyāghranāga published by Cunningham in *J.A.S.B.*, XXXIV, p. 115 is the same or different.

‡*J.N.S.I.*, V, p. 21. In his *P.H.A.I.* (5th edn., p. 481, n. 1) Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri remarks that "the identity of Bhava with the Bhavanāga of the Vākāṭaka epigraphs proposed by Dr. Altekar must await future discoveries". He, however, states no grounds for holding this view. As far as I think, the reasons shown by Dr. Altekar are quite conclusive and unless the grounds for doubting his views are known, nothing can be stated. The Vākāṭaka records explicitly state that this king was a member of the illustrious Nāga house which seized the Gangetic valley by its valour and which deserves the credit of performing ten horse sacrifices. This is a very strong evidence to show that Bhava referred to in this record was no other than his namesake who was a member of the Nāga house ruling at Padmāvati. For details on this point the reader's attention is invited to *J.N.S.I.*, V, p. 21.

pillar inscription of Samudragupta in the list of kings whom he violently exterminated, and in view of this statement Gaṇapati may be regarded as the last of the Nāga kings whose kingdom was annexed to the Gupta empire.

The same inscription mentions two more names, Nāgadatta and Nāgasena, as kings of Āryāvarta who were destroyed by him. We have no means to identify the first of these rulers, but Nāgasena is referred to in the *Harsha-Charita*, which tells us that he was a Nāga ruler of Padmāvatī. Neither of these rulers is known to have issued any coin.

We have no means to determine the chronological order of succession among these rulers; however, I venture to make an attempt in this respect, with the remark that any statement made here is purely tentative.*

As stated above, the originator of the house appears to be Vṛisha, whose coin I have published in the *J.N.S.I.*, XV, p. 121. Referring to the Paurāṇic statement "*Vaidesikāstu Vṛishabhāḥ*", I have concluded that he began to rule at Bhilsa and the palaeography of the legend on his coin shows his time to be the latter part of the second century A. D. About his Nāga lineage I was not then certain, but this is now definite in view of more coins of this ruler being discovered; they are published below. Bhilsa appears to have been a strong-hold of the house; a number of Nāga coins were found in excavations at that place by D. R. Bhandarkar,† and even to-day a very large number of this series of coins, obtained from the ancient site of Vidiśā, can be seen in the local market.

Vṛisha or Vṛishabhava seems to have been followed by Bhīma, whose coins bear the legend in two horizontal lines, and not in a circle around the edge, as we find on those of the other members of the house. His legend is in Prākṛit, ending in *sa*, and the palaeography is earlier. The epithet of *Mahārāja* and the way of engraving the legend in two horizontal lines remind us of the coins which were found at Pawāyā and were published by me in *J.N.S.I.* ‡ Thus it is possible to hold that Bhīma, who was probably the earliest of the rulers to shift to that place may have imitated this design.

* K. P. Jayaswal also makes an attempt in this respect, but his line of thinking is different. See *History*, pp. 35-36.

† *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1914-5, p. 88.

‡ Vol. XVII, pt. i, pp. 53 ff.

Coins of this series are uniform in type, almost from the beginning to the end of the dynasty. They are of copper,* die-struck and round in shape, their diameter varying from about .3" to .55" and weight from about 5 to 60 grains. A few specimens, however, show the rectangular shape, though it seems almost impossible to ascertain whether this or the round shape was originally intended. Their size recalls that of the coins of the Mālavas, who were their contemporaries.

On one side of the coins of this series we find a symbol in a circle of pellets, and from this point of view they may be taken to fall into two main groups, one, bearing the figure of a peacock, and the other, of a humped bull, to right or to left, recumbent, standing or walking. Some of the Nāga rulers issued coins with an additional recurring symbol, as will be seen below, while dealing with the coin-types of the individual rulers. These symbols are:—a trident, a crescent, a lion and a wheel. Excepting the last one, all these are Śaivite emblems.

The other side of these coins recalls that of the silver coins of the W. Kshatrapas of Mālwa and Saurāshṭra, in showing the circular Brāhmī legend, around the edge, only with a few exceptions which will be shown below. The legend usually commences at VII, with the title of *Mahārāja* (in one case, *Adhirāja*), followed by the name of the king and the dynastic name *Nāga*. Often the honorific *Śrī* is placed before the name of the ruler.

The legend on most of these coins is fragmentary or imperfect, and very often the medial vowels are partially or wholly missing. This is because sometimes the die is not equal in size with the flan or is wrongly arranged on it.

With these remarks, we now proceed to discuss the coin-types issued by the individual rulers.

VRISHA OR VRISHABHA

We have seen that the credit of laying the foundation of the house may probably go to Vṛisha, also known as Vṛishabha.† This ruler introduced his own coinage with the device of a bull to the

* None the rulers belonging to the house is known to have issued gold or silver currency, as is the case with some others ruling almost contemporaneously with them, e.g. the Mālavas, the Yaudheyas, the Arjunāyanas the Maghas and the Śuṅgas.

† *Supra.*, p. vi: cf. 'वृषान् वैदेशिकाश्चापि' and 'वैदेशिकास्तु वृषभाः ...'

front and the legend *Mahārājasa Vṛishanāgasa* on one side, the other side showing a different type of bull which also faces the front. Fourteen of his coins, showing this new type, have been catalogued on p. 57 and illustrated on Pl. V, 6-19. On all of them the legend is fragmentary, but what is worth noting is that they are all rectangular, unlike those of the regular series of the Nāga coins.

VRISHABHAVA

The coins of this king, who may have been a successor of Vṛisha, as seen above,* bear on obverse the same type of bull, i. e. facing the front, with a globule between its horns, within a dotted border, as we find on some of the potin and copper coins of the W. Kshatrapas.† The reverse shows the circular Brāhmī legend around a star or a rayed Sun. These specimens are round in shape. Out of the four coins of this type, which have been enlisted in the present work, only one (No. 2) bears the complete legend, the name being distinctly read as *Vṛishabhava*; but on another (No. 1), which is the same as published by me in *J.N.S.I.*, the letter following *sha* is partially cut at the edge and appears like a *na*, of *nāga* as I had then taken it, but also as a *bha*, showing the name to be *Vṛishabha*.‡ But now, after comparing this specimen with No. 1 of the *Catalogue*, this crucial letter has to be definitely taken as a *bha*, though it remains doubtful whether we can ascribe it to *Vṛishabha* or *Vṛishabhava*.×

A new type is revealed by a unique coin bearing the legend *Rājño Vṛisha(bha)va*.....(p. 59, No. 15). This piece is worn and the legend is fragmentary; but the first three letteres, with the vowel marks, are distinct and the base of the fourth one, *sha*, is damaged. This seems to show that the piece may have been issued either by *Vṛishabha* or his successor, but the use of *Rājño* and the *svastika* appear to connect it with the Sātavāhana coinage. The problem cannot be solved unless fresh evidence is available.

BHĪMA

The coins of this king show on one side the device of a peacock,

*The distinction between the names *Vṛisha* and *Vṛishabhava*, as stated on p. vi above, is not certain but probable, based only on etymological grounds.

† *B.M.C. A.W.K.*, Pl. XII, 326-7. For details of this comparison see my article in *J.N.S.I.*, XV, p. 122.

‡ As also suggested in *ibid.*, XVI, p. 279.

× See n. * above.

to left, and on the other, the legend in two horizontal lines, one below the other, reading *Mahārājasa* and *Bhīmanāgasa* respectively. The ending *sa* of both the lines shows the legend to be in prakṛit.*

On some of the coins of Bhīma the figure of the animal is roughly executed, whereas on others it is artistically drawn; and accordingly they have been graded here into varieties *a* and *b* respectively.

Of all the members of the house, this prince is an exception in giving the legend in two horizontal lines and not in a circular form; the type appears to have been suggested by that of the coins issued by some of the kings of Padmāvati, which were published by me for the first time in *J.N.S.I.*,† viz. of Makhadatta, Mahata, Amitasena sabalasena and others. But the figure of a peacock as the obverse type of Bhīma cannot be explained. K. P. Jayaswal was of the opinion that this king was a successor of Virāsena or Skanda, who was the leader of the army of gods and whose mount is known to be a peacock.‡ But we have no grounds to hold this view and therefore the problem remains unsolved.

There is some difference of opinion about the explanation of the horizontal object appearing between the two lines of the legend; for, whereas Cunningham describes it as 'a horizontal line like a spear-head', × Dr. Altekar remarks that it is probably a sword in sheath with a hilt. + A close scrutiny of illustrations on **Pl. I, 4 & 12** leads me to suggest that the object bears greater resemblance to a spear-head than to a sword, as it does not show a bend at either of its ends. It is pointed like a spear-head, showing the point sometimes on the right (**Pl. I, 10**) and at other times on the left (**Pl. I, 9**).

SKANDA

The obverse of Skanda Nāga's coins shows either a peacock or a humped bull, and accordingly they have been grouped here into two types, type one consisting of those with the peacock symbol; and type two, of those with that of a bull. The former of these types has further been

* On all the coins enlisted here, this letter is fragmentary, but a close scrutiny of a number of specimens shows it to be a *sa* and not *śya*.

† *XVII*, pp. 53 ff.

× *Coins of Med. India*, p. 23, No. 15.

‡ *History*, p. 31.

+ *J.N.S.I.*, *XV*, p. 130, n.

divided into varieties *a* and *b*, respectively, as the coins show the animal facing the right or the opposite direction.

On some of the coins the figure of the peacock is crude and miniature in form, often engraved on one side of the edge, and the rest of the flan is left blank (Pl. I, 19; VI, 16); whereas on others it is graceful, with the feathers shown beautifully (Pl. I, 22-23).

The bull on the coins of this king is recumbent and faces right; not even a single specimen showing the animal to left is known so far. Following the chronological order proposed above, he is the first of the Nāga rulers to introduce the bull type.

Skanda appears to have adopted the symbol of a prancing horse also, as noted on a singular specimen published by me in *J.N.S.I.*, XIV, p. 78. It is No. 27 of this *Catalogue* and has been reproduced here from a fresh facsimile, on Pl. VI, 8. No other king of this house is so far known to have issued coins with this device. On another coin (No. 29) the animal looks more like a lion.

The other side of Skanda's coins shows two daggers or short spears and the circular Brāhmī legend ending in *sya*, and not in *sa* as on those of Bhīma. The use of Sanskrit shows that he was later than Bhīma, and from the study of the palaeography of the legend on his coins, he appears to be the earliest of all others belonging to the house.

In the legend the formation of *ska* is ornamental. It is followed invariably by the dental nasal and not by an *anusvāra*.

VASU

The prince of this name is less known and his coins are comparatively rare. They are of one and the same type, showing the figure of a peacock, standing to right, as we find on those issued by Bhīma and Skanda. On a unique coin (Pl. II, 1) the animal looks more like a horse or a deer (?).

The legend on Vasu's coins ends in *sya*. The peacock symbol and the palaeography of the letters on his coins suggest that this ruler was not far removed in time from Bhīma and Skanda, whom we have taken to be the earliest of the members of the house.

SOME COMMON FEATURES OF THE COINAGE OF SKANDA AND VASU,

A number of the coins of Skanda and Vasu are notable for

their common features. Some of them are saucer-shaped, others show breaks and cracks at the edge, probably in consequence of the die being pressed heavily, and some, besides showing a part of the legend in an incuse, also bear traces of original letters. These traces are blurred, indistinct or obliterated, and consequently no definite opinion can be formed. However, my scrutiny of a large number of specimens of this type leads me to suggest that Skanda and Vasu re-struck some coins which were originally issued by those whose identity is unknown but who belonged to the Nāga house, as shown by the size, shape and type of these coins. The form of the peacock on the coins of Skanda is much similar to that on those of Vasu, and, curiously enough, the side bearing this symbol is generally left untouched in the process of re-striking; it is only the other side, i. e. the one bearing the legend, which shows the peculiarities noted above. Is it possible to presume, therefore, that Skanda and Vasu may have re-struck the coins of each other? Unless more material is available, it is difficult to be definite on the point, though I am inclined to hold that this may have been the case. For coins showing the peculiarities noted above, see Pl. I, 16, 18, 19, 24; Pl. II, 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11; Pl. VI, 9, 14, 15, 19, 21.

BRIHASPATI

With Brihaspati, the peacock emblem, which is found on the coins of Bhīma, Skanda and Vasu, was discontinued and the bull type, which is the most popular type, continued till the end of the dynasty. His coins of this type, called here type one, are sub-divided into two varieties, known as *a* and *b*, respectively as they show the bull facing the right or the left side. The animal is shown recumbent, as on the coins of Skanda.

Brihaspati is known to have issued another type, which bears the symbol of a trident, a Śaivite emblem, like the bull. This type, however, is less known and coins belonging to it are comparatively rare. A battle-axe is always found attached to the handle of the trident, either on right (Pl. II, 24) or on left (Pl. II, 26), probably indicating his victorious warfare along with his predilection to Śaivism.

The trident type of Brihaspati's coins, too, have been grouped here into two varieties, *a* and *b*, as they show the axe on right and

left respectively. Of the latter of these varieties, only two coins could be found after a long search, probably showing its high rarity.

This ruler is known to have issued still another type, bearing the symbol of a spoked wheel, around an indistinct object. This type is represented by a singular specimen (No. 43) which was published by me for the first time.* It is enlisted here under type three.

VIBHU

Coins of Vibhu, enlisted here under type one, bear on one side the figure of a humped bull, walking to left, and on the other, a battle-axe in the centre, with the legend around it. Excepting a solitary specimen which was published by Dr. Altekar,† not even a single coin of this ruler has so far been known to show the animal facing the opposite direction.

The figure of the bull on the coins of this ruler closely resembles that on those of Bhava, who thus appears to be not far removed in time, as seen above. This inference is borne out by the palaeography of the legends.

Two of Vibhu's coins, enlisted here, show the bull on a platform (Nos. 12 & 16); on one of these, which is illustrated on **Pl. II, 30**, the legend begins at I and not at VII, as is usually the case.

One unique coin of Vibhu, published by me in *J.N.S.I.*, ‡ shows the bull squatting; it is enlisted in the *Catalogue* under type four. For distinct marks of the medial vowels of *i* and *u*, attention is invited to illustrations 27-29 on **Pl. II**. Another type of his coins, called here type four, is known from a solitary specimen, bearing the wheel symbol and published by me in the *J.N.S.I.* (XVII, ii, p. 49, No. 7); and still another type, from a unique specimen (No. 33) showing the crescent symbol (**Pl. II, 40**).×

A few coins of Vibhu, with a still different obverse type, have recently been discovered; the device is peculiar and I cannot satisfactorily explain it, but it appears to resemble a Śiva-linga on an *arghapatta*, as can be seen from a close scrutiny. All the seven coins of this type, which have so far been picked up from the collection, are smaller in

* *J.N.S.I.*, XIV, p. 79. † *Ibid.*, V, p. 26, first coin. ‡ XVII, ii, p. 49, No. 6.

× The legend on this coin is blurred on the plate, besides being fragmentary; but parts of letters *Śrī Vibhu* are visible on the plate from X to XII.

size, and have been catalogued here as constituting type two, which too has so far remained unpublished.

RAVI

The name of this king was revealed some four years ago when I published his coins in *J.N.S.I.*, XIV, p., 77. Only three of them have so far been discovered, probably suggesting that he had a very short reign. They are of one and the same type and they resemble the coins of Vibhu, in showing, on one side, the figure of a humped bull, to left, and on the other, the circular legend around a battle-axe.

All the three coins found so far have been illustrated on Pl. III (1-3). On none of them the legend is complete, but the name Ravi, preceded by the honorific *Śrī*, is very certain and distinct. In their size, shape, weight, symbol and the palaeography these specimens are similar to those issued by the other members of the house, and on this account, we must have no hesitation in recognising him as a member of the same house as of Vibhu and Bhava, from whom he was not far removed in time, as seen above.

BHAVA

The coins of Bhava, the most illustrious of all the Nāga rulers of Padmāvati, show a number of types and varieties, bearing the symbols of bull, trident and crescent. His coins have first been arranged here into two classes, on the basis of the title attached to his name; class one is distinguished by the title of *Mahārāja* and class two, by that of *Adhirāja*, suggesting that the coins of this class may have been issued by him in commemoration of some of his victories. While publishing some of his coins it was suggested by me for the first time that on the coins of this ruler the honorific *Śrī* invariably occurs only with the title of *Adhirāja*, but then I had also remarked that a large number of his coins will have to be scrutinised before we finally accept this view.* This conclusion remains unshaken even after my examination of his coins which were numerous in the huge collection, for not a single of his coins bearing the title of *Mahārāja* was found to show the honorific *Śrī* attached to it.

* *J.N.S.I.*, XIV, p. 75.

In each of these two classes I have grouped Bhava's coins under two types, their characteristic features being governed by the symbols appearing on their obverse, viz. the bull symbol constituting type one and the trident symbol, type two. The coins of the bull type have further been divided into varieties *a* and *b*, as they show the animal facing the different directions, right and left, respectively.

The bull on his coins is generally walking but in rare cases it also appears as standing (Pl. III, 26); sometimes it has a platform below (Pl. III, 19); it is clear on the coin but dim on the photograph. One specimen shows a crescent above the animal (No. 62 a); it is enlisted here as belonging to class 2, var. *c*.

The trident on the coins of this ruler shows a number of forms, as can be seen from the illustrations (cf. Pl. III, 18 & 27). It is generally in the centre, but sometimes also in the lower or the upper half or in one of the corners (Pl. III, 9, 10, 22, 23, & 29). From the position of the trident we are able to know that on these specimens the legend generally begins at VII, though there are exceptions (Pl. III, 13, 14 & 22). Sometimes the two letters of the name are separated by the base of the trident (Pl. III, 14) and often a letter is impressed on the base itself (Pl. III, 7 & 10, *nā* and *ga* respectively). There are cases when the prongs of the trident are artistically mixed with the lower parts of the letters (Pl. III 26-27 & 29).

Another group of Bhava's coins, consisting of five specimens enlisted in the present work (Nos. 72-6; Pl. III, 35-8), shows, on the obverse, a crescent with a pellet in it, and on the reverse, the circular legend with the title *Adhirāja*. Thus they belong to class two, and I have enlisted them under a separate type, called here type three of this class. Bhava is not known to have issued this type with the humbler title of *Mahārāja*.

It is interesting to note that the crescent also appears on Gupta coins and on those of the W. Kshatrapas, but on them it is one of the many symbols whereas on those of Bhava it is the only symbol.

In my examination of the big collection I have noticed that Bhava's coins of the bull type are fairly numerous but those of the trident type are rare and those of the crescent type are still more rare. It was also noted that the bull type is double in denomination and size of that of the trident type, which is again the double of the crescent type.

For the oval shape of Bhava's coins, attention is invited to *J.N.S.I.*, XIV, p. 74, Nos. 1-2.

PRABHĀKARA

The name of this prince was known for the first time in 1900 A. D. when Rapson published in *J.R.A.S.* two of his coins, one with the symbol of bull to right and the other, with that of lion to left. Accordingly I have grouped his coins into two types, the bull type and the lion type. Coins of each of these types have again been divided into two varieties, *a* and *b*, as they show the animal to right and to left respectively.

Of variety *b* of the bull type, which was revealed by one specimen published by me in *J.N.S.I.*,* only two more specimens were found in the big lot, showing that they are very rare; all these three coins have been grouped here under variety *b* of type one, variety *a* being assigned to those specimens which show the animal to right, as published by Rapson.

Under type two we have grouped those of the coins of Prabhākara which show the device of a lion. Its mouth is gaping and tail curled up. It faces either of the sides, right or left, and accordingly the coins have been enlisted here under varieties *a* and *b* respectively. Of the former of these varieties, I have succeeded in picking up only two coins; they are published here for the first time; whereas variety *b* includes eleven specimens of this ruler.

Five coins of the latter of these types, *i. e.* that bearing on the obverse the figure of a lion and on the reverse a fragmentary legend showing the name to be only *Prabha*, were published by me in *J.N.S.I.*, XIV, pp. 77-8, and according to the classification adopted here, they belong to variety *b* of type two. But it is worth noting in this respect that in addition to the legend, which is fragmentary, the reverse of these coins shows an additional symbol, a sickle-like object, which is generally not to be found on the coins of Prabhākara. As suggested by the remains of the legend, these coins were tentatively ascribed by me to a ruler different from Prabhākara, his name being read as *Śrī-prabha(bhu)* or *Prabha(bhu)*, taking the *Śrī* as forming part of the name or used here as an honorific. And in this respect the attention

* Vol. XV, p. 134, No. 2.

of the reader is invited to the discussion appearing in *J.N.S.I.*, XIV, p. 78 and XV, p. 135. The point whether the king who issued these coins is the same as Prabhākara or different from him, still remains undecided for want of confirmatory evidence; and in case he is to be taken as the same as Prabhākara, this ruler is known to have issued another type of coins, *i. e.* those with the additional symbol of the sickle-like object, along with the legend on the reverse.

Not even a single of the coins issued by this king has so far shown the dynastic name *Nāga* attached to his name, and it is only by the comparison of his coins with those of the other rulers belonging to the house, in respect of their metal, size, weight, fabric and the find-spot, that we know Prabhākara to be a *Nāga* ruler. In this concern attention is drawn to what I had stated while publishing his coins in *J.N.S.I.*, XV, pp. 134-5.

DEVA

Deva *Nāga* is known to have issued coins with the device of a wheel, trident or bull. The wheel, which has not so far been found on the coins of any other of the rulers belonging to this house, is most common on his coins, and, with a pellet in the centre, it shows a number of varieties, *e. g.* consisting of eight, six and irregular number of spokes, and accordingly the coins of this ruler have been grouped under varieties *a*, *b* and *c* respectively.

Some of the coins of this type also show a pellet in each of the angles of the spokes (Pl. IV, 22-23) while on others the wheel is graceful (Pl. IV, 15, 20 and 22).

The trident type of coins of this king are scarce and those of the bull type are still more scarce. One specimen of each of these types was published by Cunningham in his *Coins of Mediaeval India*, but on both the illustrations given by him on Pl. II in his work, I am unable to read the name of the king in the legend. In the present work I have included three coins of the trident type; they are illustrated on Pl. IV, 26-28. But the legend on them does not show the first letter of the name of the king clearly and distinctly; it may have been either *De* or *Bha*, as may be seen on more or less turning the coin; and in the latter case these coins will have to be attributed to Bhava, whose coins of the trident type are well known. It is difficult to be definite on the point.

No coin of Deva bearing the device of a bull was found by me either in the collection or in the coin-cabinet of the Gwalior Museum; and if the one published by Cunningham is really to be attributed to this ruler, it is still unique.*

The legend shows the name of this ruler both as Deva and Devendra; but on some rare coins it is found to be Devanandana (?)†.

GAṆAPATI

The coins of this ruler are most numerous. In the collection which I have examined I found them to be so abundant that I agree with the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in holding that "he (Gaṇapati) has left the largest number of coins out of all the kings of Hindu times"‡.

Jayaswal has also observed that the issues of the coins of this ruler are many, counting about eight of them;× he does not, however, mention them in detail. The collection referred to above shows only one type of the coins of this ruler, all bearing the figure of a humped bull on the obverse, and the legend in the usual form, on the reverse. The animal is generally to be seen walking either to left or to right, and accordingly the coins have been enlisted here as of varieties *a* and *b* respectively. On one coin (Pl. IV, 42) the bull, though walking to left, has his mouth turned to front.

A third variety of the coins of this ruler is constituted by two specimens, showing the animal to be squatting, as on Vibhu's unique coin described here, but the legend on both of them is too indistinct to show that they can be ascribed to this ruler with confidence (Pl. V, 4), though I am inclined to hold so only from a comparison of the general style of inscribing the legend on his coins.

Another peculiarity of the coins of this ruler is that in the legend the letter *ṇa* of the name is also spelt as *na*, no distinction being made between the lingual and the dental form. In this respect it is worth noting that this peculiarity is also shared by those of the Mālava coins which are ascribed to a period from the second to the fourth century A. D. +

The coins of this ruler not only form a dead uniformity of type but also show degeneration in style. A number of his coins were found

* Also see Pl. V, 36, where the letter following *Śrī* appears to be a *da*.

† Pl. IV, 25; V, 24.

× *Ibid.*

‡ *History*, p. 36.

+ *B.M.C.A.I.*, p. cvi.

to be of rectangular (Pl. IV, 31; V, 25-26) or of irregular shape (Pl. IV, 40); some show protrusion on edge (Pl. IV, 44), while on some others the letters are crude (Pl. VI, 1), incomplete or varying in size (Pl. IV, 36, 46), those of the epithet being bigger than those of the name. Taking different lots of hundred coins of this ruler, I found that only four or five out of each of these lots showed the legend complete; and it is not strange to note that on several coins only one or two letters appear.

Of the coins enlisted here only three bear the figure of the animal walking to right; this shows the rarity of this variety. On all these three coins the legend is fragmentary; one of them which is best preserved is illustrated on Pl. V, 3.

The coins of the first of these varieties, i. e. showing the bull walking to left, fall into the following four distinct groups, as showing different forms of the name in the legend, and accordingly they have been sub-divided here, as shown below :—

Sub-variety <i>a</i> , showing the name <i>Gaṇa(na)patīndra</i> .			
„	<i>b</i> ,	„	„ „ <i>Gaṇa(na)pendra</i> .
„	<i>c</i> ,	„	„ „ <i>Gaṇe(ne)ndra</i> .
„	<i>d</i> ,	„	„ „ <i>Gaṇapati</i> .*

This distinction was unknown before. Besides the coins belonging to these sub-varieties, we find that a number of specimens issued by this ruler show only the initial *Ga* of the name, and that this letter alone was originally intended is known from the fact that there is no space for any letter between it and the *ma* of the title *Mahārāja*; nor do we find on them the *dra* which is very distinctly to be seen on a large number of coins issued by this king.

Coins belonging to the second and the third sub-varieties are numerous; those of the first of the sub-varieties are not so common; whereas those showing the name *Gaṇapati* are very scarce, only three specimens being found in the big collection referred to above.

No coin of this ruler showing the dynastic name in the end has so far been found, and in this respect they resemble Prabhākara's coins.

UNCERTAIN COINS

This section deals with coins which too were obtained at Pawāyā

* A study of his coins from Kutwār suggests this distinction to be applicable in the case of his coins with the symbol of bull to right also

but which cannot be definitely attributed. They have been grouped here into two classes, class one consisting of Nāga coins and class two, of others, about which nothing can be said with certainty. Under var. *a* of class one I have arranged three coins (Pl. V, 1-3) which appear to have been issued by Gaṇapati; on the first two of these the legend is fragmentary and on the third one the second letter of the name appears as *ja*, at IV. It is not known whether this specimen was issued by Gaṇendra or we may tentatively read the name Gajendra or Rājendra on it (?). The first letter of the name has not fully come out and therefore I have left it unattributed.

The next three coins (4-6) probably reveal new names, as shown while describing them on pp. 55-57. No. 7, which shows a big *ma* in the centre of the reverse, has some lines below; and what appears on its obverse may probably have been a mutilated figure of a peacock. For No. 8 my remarks on p. 55, *n.*, may be seen. No. 9 shows [*nā*]gasya in an incuse, with traces around, and No. 10, showing *ska* at I, may probably be ascribed to Skanda.

Attention is invited to a coin published by Cunningham in *J.A.S.B.*, 1865, p. 115, on which he reads the legend as *kha*— and which Dr. Altekar takes as probably issued by Vibhu, reading the same letter as *vi*.* The present coin shows that this letter is very probably a *ska* and thus Cunningham's coin, too, may perhaps be attributed to Skanda. In my scrutiny I found a number of coins showing this *ska* mutilated, the upper stroke of *sa* being out of the flan or cut at the edge and thus giving it the appearance of a *kha* or of a *vi*. It may also be remarked here that not a single coin of Vibhu, showing a peacock as on Cunningham's coin, has so far been known, and hence I do not agree with Dr. Altekar in attributing the coin to this ruler.

The other coins grouped under this variety bear fragmentary legends, along with some original traces which cannot be made out. Number 12, 15 and 17 appear as probably issued (re-struck?) by Skanda. The obverse type of coins 9-21 is peacock, but on No. 17 the animal figure is not definitely known.

Coins of var. *d* (Nos. 22-24) show another peculiarity. The first of these, which bears a trident on obverse, shows the first letter of the name of the king to be a *ga* though the possibility of its being

* *J.N.S.I.*, V, p. 27.

a *bha* cannot altogether be precluded. This type was issued only by Bhava and Brihaspati; and in case the letter in question is to be taken as a *ga*, it shows a new type of Gaṇapati's coins. But nothing can be said with certainty until more evidence is available.

No. 23, which shows a tree on one side and the letters *nāga* on the lower edge of the other side, is a unique coin, though of uncertain attribution. The first letter on the upper edge is illegible; it is followed by *maha*-, clearly to be seen on the coin. No. 24, on which the legend is not well arranged, seems to have been issued by Skanda, from the letters *kada* appearing at XII, followed by *naga(nāga)*.

Nos. 25-30 (var. *e*) are Nāga coins, included here to show that they bear only one or two letters of the legend. Their obverse shows the symbol of a humped-bull to left.

Of those coins grouped here under class II, the first two (Nos. 31-32) are Mālava coins and Nos. 33-34 may perhaps be taken to be so.* Coin No. 35, which shows the Ujjain symbol, may also be connected with Malwa,† and No. 36 also, from its fabric, size and shape, appears to be a Mālava coin. Coins of the wheel type (Nos. 37-40) must continue to remain a puzzle until fresh material is available.

III. Palaeography

The characters on the coins of this series bear a general resemblance to those on the contemporary lithic records, as will be seen from their drawings in Pls. VII-IX. They are generally well engraved, but on a large number of specimens they are impressed most carelessly, particularly on those issued by Gaṇapati, which are found in abundance. On most of the coins some of the letters are partially or wholly missing, the flan being smaller than the die. Several coins show only one or two letters, mostly of the epithet *Mahārāja*, which appear to be more carefully arranged than those of the king's name itself, which is totally or partially missing or is squeezed for want of space (Pl. IV, 36; V, 28; VI, 25-30). On some coins the letters are deeply impressed, making them saucer-shaped, as can be seen on the illustrations.

The palaeography of the legends on these coins is interesting, as

* The details are given in the description of these coins on pp. 57-58 of the *Catalogue*.

† It must be remembered, however, that the Ujjain symbol appears on some other coins also, as we know from *B.M.C.A.I.*

we find the same letter showing varied forms, providing key to the development of the Brāhmī and the Deva Nāgarī scripts. Of all the letters the initial *ma* is very interesting, showing a diversity of forms. Its base is triangular, generally hollow, with all possible curves being used in its formation, causing it look like a rectangle and even a pentagon (Bhava & Gaṇapati).^{*} Often two slanting lines are shown meeting on the base line, with or without top strokes, which too assume different ornamental forms; and occasionally the base looks like a railing, with a tree within, as the upper limbs of the letter are joined at the top, like a V, and planted right in it. These and some other forms of the letter are shown at the end of Pl. IX.

Among other consonants, *ka* has a long vertical (Skanda), which occasionally shows its end curved to left or joined to a stroke, and the cross bar is also curved as on Gupta coins (Prabhākara). *Ga*, which is almost a semi-circle, also shows its right limb elongated, assuming a variety of forms, sometimes reversed and at other times looking like a *ha* (Gaṇapati). *Na* somewhat resembles the Italic *x* and also H. The lower limbs of *ta* are angular and also round. *Da* is always open to right (Deva), and the dental *na* which is depicted by a vertical joined to a curve at its centre (Bhīma), usually shows the looped form. *Pa* has assumed almost the modern form, with both the limbs of equal height. *Ba* is expressed by a square (Bṛihaspati). *Bha* assumes a number of varieties; the top-stroke of this letter is very prominent, making it appear as *bhā* and sometimes even as *bhī* (Bhava, see Pl. III, 9, 11, 15, 29 & 33). *Ya*, occurring as a sub-script, is bipartite (Skanda & Vasu) and the base of *va*, which is usually triangular as that of *ma*, is round on Vṛisha's coins. The bend of *ha* is sometimes taken horizontally and at other times in a low curve, both the forms sometimes appearing on the same coins (Bṛihaspati). On some of Gaṇapati's coins the formation of this letter is noteworthy; it is expressed by a vertical line with a curved horizontal stroke to right from the middle, as it occurs in the Allahabad inscription.[†] The vertical of *ra* usually ends in a curve to left but occasionally also to right, sometimes forming a right angle with a stroke attached to its end. The subscript *ra* is denoted by a tail or curve, attached to the bottom of the letter.

* The names in brackets are of those kings whose coins show the peculiarities of letters, noted just before.

† This form is not noted by Buhler in his *Indian Palaeography*, p. 47.

Among the vowels, the initial *a*, which is found only on the coins of Bhava with the title *Adhirāja*, assumes the form as in Śoḍāsa's inscription.* The medial *ā* is denoted usually by lengthening or curving the top-stroke to right, but occasionally marked to left (Bhīma). The medial *i* is expressed by a semi-circle attached to the top of the letter and curved to left, but occasionally this curve is taken below, to the back of the consonant. The medial *u* is shown both by slightly prolonging the vertical of the consonant (Vasu) and also by curving its end to right (Vibhu). The *mātrā* of *ṛi* is expressed by a stroke attached to the right extremity of the consonant and sharply curving it to left (Vṛisha); this curve is often not sharp and is turned to the right extremity of the consonant and is found open like a loop (Bṛihaspati). The medial *e* is denoted by a horizontal or slanting stroke to left in continuation of the top-stroke and also by curving the beginning of the consonant. Other letters display no peculiarities.

As already remarked, it is not possible to put the letters to a strict palaeographical test. They were seldom accurately engraved and the die-cutters, with their individual fancies, often gave them ornamental forms. But the script depicts a general characteristic of the post-Kushān† and pre-Gupta times; thus it was in a transitional stage during the days of the Nāga rulers.

The preceding peculiarities of the letters were noticed on the coins of those rulers whose names follow them in brackets; and though there are instances when different forms of the same letter are sometimes found on the coins of the same rulers. The palaeography of the letters on these coins is of considerable interest as it helps to ascertain the relative chronology, as proposed in this work.‡ Other evidences coming forward in future may determine its accuracy.

* *Ibid.*, table III, forms iii and v.

† For Kushān inscriptions, see *E.I.*, I, pp. 388 ff.; II, pp. 195 ff.

‡ To cite a few examples, Vṛisha, whose coins show the *ma* and *va* with a round base, as in Asokan inscriptions, appears to be the earliest of all others. The *ma* on Bhīma's coins is earlier than that on any other coin of the series; the *ka* on the coins of Prabhākara is later than that on those of Skanda; the *u-mātrā* of Vasu shows him to be a predecessor of Vibhu; and the medial *ṛi* of Bṛihaspati, as it appears on his coins, is later than in Vṛisha, showing an earlier form of the same medial vowel. A few varying cases have also been noted but they may be taken as exceptions. This is one of the lines of thought followed by me in working out the relative chronology of the members belonging to the house, although we may not entirely depend on palaeography in our attempt. As the first in the field, it may help to furnish a long-felt want, and it may be hoped that some at least of the conclusions noted here may be tentatively accepted until a further interesting action throws more light on them.

IV. Metrology

The coins of this series normally conform to the standard of 36, 18 and 9 grains, representing a *kākiṇī*, a half *kākiṇī* and a quarter *kākiṇī* respectively. A number of coins are noted to show greater variations in weight, which cannot be very satisfactorily explained. The weight system of ancient Indian coins as a whole is still a puzzle, and therefore we shall be content to make a general survey of the subject, taking into account only the well preserved of those coins which have been included in the *Catalogue*.

Coins of Vṛisha and Bhīma which have been enlisted here are found to come near to the standard of 36 grains, excepting No. 10 of the latter, which is smaller in size and weighs 8.75 grains. It shows no loss of weight and is a quarter *kākiṇī*. Some of his *kākiṇīs* weigh slightly above, but the difference which is of c. 4 or 5 grains is not much. Vṛisha issued half *kākiṇīs* also, found among his coins of the rectangular size only (p. 59, Nos. 7-14).

The highest weight of Skanda's *kākiṇīs* enlisted by us reaches up to 42.77 grains (No. 1), which is almost similar to that of the coins of Bhīma; and we have its half, 20.25 grains (Nos. 18-21) and quarter, 12.13 grains (Nos. 28-29). Some others appear to be halves and quarters of a higher standard, suggesting that his coins followed two standards, a lighter one of 36 grains and a heavier one of about 50 grains. Cunningham has published a coin of this king, weighing 50.1 grains;* it tends to support our presumption.

Vasu's coins enlisted by us are so scarce that they do not allow us to make any definite statement about their weight standard. He appears to have followed the normal standard, though two of his coins (Nos. 1-2) weigh higher, 49.30 and 47 grains.

Bṛihaspati's coins are generally of a lighter weight standard, the highest weight of those of the bull type being recorded to be 26.23 grains (No. 1) and of those of the trident type, 12.49 grains (No. 29). The latter of these types appears to be the half of the former, suggesting that the different denominations of his coins were marked by the different symbols, the bull symbol showing a *kākiṇī* and the trident

* *Coins of Med. India*, p. 23, No. 17.

symbol showing its half and quarter. The different denominations of his coins vary in size also.

Vibhu's coins belong to the normal weight standard of 36 grains; some of them (Nos. 2-10), however, weigh slightly higher, probably due to the carelessness of the die-cutter, as we have noted in the case of Bhīma and Skanda. One of his coins (No. 1) weighs as high as 63·12 grains; the case of this abnormal weight cannot be explained. Similar to this may have been the case of Nos. 2-3 also, weighing about 48 grains. All these coins bear the symbol of a bull, whereas those which bear a Śiva-*linga* show their weight ranging between 13·9 and 28·31 grains. They are thicker, smaller in size and show a different fabric. I am unable to explain their weight system; however, I venture to suggest that they may have been halves and quarters of those bearing the bull symbol.

A unique coin of Vibhu (No. 33), which weighs 7·65 grains and has suffered some small corrosion resulting in loss of weight of about a grain or two, may perhaps be taken as a quarter *kākinī*. It shows a still different symbol, that of a crescent. This leads me to think that the different denominations of Vibhu's coins were marked by different symbols, though we have cases of exceptions.

Of Ravi we have only three coins and hence we are unable to make any statement about their weight standard. They are all *kākinīs*.

The system of denoting different denominations with different symbols is well notable on the coins of Bhava, the most illustrious of all the Nāga rulers. Taking into account his well preserved coins from among those enlisted in the present work, we find that the weight of those of the bull type ranges between 24·4 and 54·8 grains (Nos. 16 & 36 respectively), and that of the trident type, between 15·49 and 26·9 grains (Nos. 35 & 27), suggesting that his coins of the latter type are halves of those of the former. His coins of the bull type, too, probably represent two denominations, those weighing in the vicinity of 24·4 grains being the halves of those in that of 54·8 grains. The same distinction is notable among Bhava's coins of the trident type, those weighing near about 12·4 grains being halves of those approaching the weight of 26·9 grains. This also shows that his coins belong to two standards.

Bhava's coins bearing the crescent symbol vary in weight from 5·09 to 9·88 grains; those approaching the former in weight are

probably half in denomination of the latter. Thus his quarter *kākiṇīs* and their halves appear to be denoted by the crescent symbol.

Taking Bhava's coins representing approximately the 50-60 grains standard, as it appears to have been the case, we may conclude with the facts before us that he issued complete and half coins with the bull symbol, halves and quarters with the trident symbol and quarters and their halves with that of the crescent.

The weight standard of Prabhākara's coins is very simple. The highest weight of his coins enlisted by us is 44.21 grains (No. 11) and we find a number of his coins weighing in its vicinity. They are all *kākiṇīs*. His half and quarter *kākiṇīs* are represented here by one coin each (Nos. 5 and 29), weighing 21.2 and 13.1 grs.* respectively. His coins, however, are not sufficient to enable us to say anything more in this respect.

The usual weight of Deva's coins approaches 36 grains (Nos. 6-10) and we have their halves (Nos. 19-31 & 34-35) also, all in a good state of preservation. But two of his coins enlisted here (Nos. 1-2) weigh 55 grains and four (Nos. 3-5 & 32), which have suffered to some extent, may be taken to have originally weighed in their vicinity. It is difficult to account for this higher weight, unless we presume that this king too, like some of the members of the house, issued coins to a higher standard also, of about 55-60 grains. This presumption is supported by the observation that his coins of this standard are generally thicker than those following the normal weight standard and that we have also halves of this standard (Nos. 10, 12-14), sharing the same peculiarity of being thicker.

No quarter *kākiṇī* of Deva has so far been known, excepting the case of No. 40, which is of doubtful attribution.

The coins of Gaṇapati belong to the traditional standard of a *kākiṇī*, i. e. of 36 grains. Two specimens, which are thicker than others, weigh as high as 52.96 and 61.4 grains (Nos. 10 & 20), suggesting that this king too issued coins to more than one standard. We have halves of both the standards. To give one example, No. 13 of his coins which weighs 26.84 grains is a half of the heavier standard, as we can

* This coin cannot be taken to be a half *kākiṇī* as it is in mint condition and has not lost so much as 4.5 grains. It probably suggests a higher standard of the coins of this ruler, which, however, appears to be probable but not certain. Thus this specimen presents a puzzle.

know from its being in a good state of preservation, showing that it cannot be taken as a *kākiṇī* of the 36 grains standard. The highest weight of his quarter *kākiṇīs* reaches up to 11-12 grains, as shown by coins No. 30 and 34, weighing 11.71 and 11.09 grains respectively. They have not lost much.

This king issued coins with still smaller denominations, as can be seen from Nos. 32-33, weighing 5.40 and 2.16 grains respectively; the former of these appears to be the one-eighth of a *kākiṇī* and the latter, its sixteenth in denomination. Gaṇapati is the only Nāga ruler issuing coins of these denominations.

V. Symbols

To explain the symbols occurring on the coins of the Nāga rulers of Padmāvati, no detailed remarks appear to be necessary, as they are very simple in construction and are very well known. They are neither foreign, like monograms on the coins of the Indo-Bactrian or Indo-Scythian rulers, nor decorative motifs as found on those of the Kushāns. They all have a Śaivite significance and they occur on one side of the Nāga coins, covering almost the whole of the flan, though there are cases when they appear on both the sides.

Most of the Nāga rulers belonging to the house of Padmāvati selected more than one symbol for issuing their coins. They are all shown here, in a tabular form, on the basis of which we have grouped the coins in the present work. The different types and varieties under which the coins have been grouped have also been shown side by side, for ready reference.

<i>Name of king</i>	...	<i>Variety</i>	<i>Symbol</i>
Vṛisha	...	—	(1) Rayed Sun or star. (2) Humped bull standing to front.
Vṛishabhava	" " "
Bhīma	...	a ...	Peacock to l., roughly executed.
		b ...	Peacock to l., but well drawn.
Skanda	... Type 1	a ...	Peacock to r.
	" "	b ...	" " l.
	" 2	...	Recumbent humped bull to r.
		...	Horse (?).

Vastu	Peacock to l.
Bṛihaspati	...	Type 1	<i>a</i> ... Recumbent humped bull to r.
		„ „	<i>b</i> ... The same to l.
		Type 2	<i>a</i> ... Trident with axe on r.
			<i>b</i> ... The same with axe on l.
		„ 3	... Bull (?) in a wheel.
Vibhu	...	„ 1	... Humped bull walking to l.
		„ 2	... Śiva-līṅga(?)
		„ 3	... Wheel.
		„ 4	... Squatting bull to l.
		„ 5	... Crescent.
Ravi Humped bull walking to l.
Bhava	Class 1	...	„ 1 <i>a</i> ... Humped bull walking to r.
		„ „	<i>b</i> ... Same to l.
		2	... Trident.
	2	...	Types and their varieties as in Class 1; also type 3, showing a crescent.
Deva	...	Type 1	<i>a</i> ... Wheel of eight spokes.
		„ „	<i>b</i> ... Wheel of six spokes.
		„ „	<i>c</i> ... Wheel of many spokes.
		„ 2	... Trident
		„ 3	... Bull to l.
Gaṇapati	...		<i>a</i> ... Bull walking to l.
			<i>b</i> ... „ „ r.
			<i>c</i> ... Bull squatting l.

Note—For the different variants of his name and grouping of his coins, see my remarks above. Also see Dr. Altekar's similar remarks in *J.N.S.I.*, V, p. 27.

The symbols noted above show a number of forms, the most notable among them being those of the bull figure, which is generally very beautifully engraved, facing either to front or to right or left, and shown in different attitudes, for which see Pl. X.

APPENDIX A

The Three Capitals of the Dynasty

The extent of the Nāga kingdom can be gauged from the find of their coins and also from the identification of their capitals, viz. Padmāvati, Kāntipurī and Mathurā, mentioned in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. The first of these points is shortly to be considered and here we take up only the second one.

Of the three capitals of the Nāga rulers, Mathurā is well known and no remarks appear to be necessary with regard to it. As regards Padmāvati, another capital of the house, H. H. Wilson proposed its identification with some unknown city in Berar, and later on, A. Cunningham took it as Narwar, an old town in the present Shivpuri district of Madhya Pradesh, where he found all his principal coins of the Nāgas. He placed too much reliance on the tradition, according to which, the name of the place is a corrupted form of *Nalapura*, the city of king Nala of the epic fame; and taking Nala as one of the synonyms of *padma*, lotus, he made an ingenious suggestion that Narwar (Nalapura) is only another name of Padmāvati*. He also took into account the evidence adduced by Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava*, describing the topography of the site, but has missed certain important considerations, viz. archaeological evidences, and thus his statement cannot be taken as final. Here we have also to note that the antiquity of Narwar does not go beyond the mediaeval times, i. e. 13-4th centuries A. D., when it became the capital of the Yajvapāla dynasty and that no archaeological remains of the pre-gupta period were discovered at that place.

Cunningham was followed by Shri. M. B. Garde, who has conclusively proved that on archaeological grounds Padmāvati, the capital of the Nāga house, can be none other than Padam-Pawāyā and its identification with Narwar, as proposed by Cunningham, has to be discarded. In this respect attention is invited to *A.S.I.A.R.*, XXIV, p. 165 and *ibid.*, XV, p. 103.

A general description of the ancient site of Padmāvati with its topography and archaeological remains will not be out of place here. It is represented by the modern village of pawāyā, also known by its

* *Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 21.

longer name Padam-Pawāyā, in which the ancient name still survives. It is about 42 miles south-west of Gwalior and is reached *via* Dabra, a station on the Central Railway, some 21 miles south of Gwalior.

The ancient history of the place can be traced back with certainty to the first century A.D., from a statue of Yaksha Maṇibhadra, found on the site and inscribed on the pedestal in Brāhmī characters of that period. Its earlier history is not known but some light appears to be thrown over it from some coins discovered on the site and published by me for the first time in *J.N.S.I.**

Situated on the confluence of the rivers Sindhu and Pārvatī, it is regarded as a holy place. A picture of its prosperity is to be found in Bhavabhūti's *Mālātī-Mādhava*, which also speaks of its religious importance. A number of antiquities were found on the surface of its ancient site, during explorations, important among them being (1) a palm capital and (2) a double-faced Sun capital, in addition to the image of Yaksha Maṇibhadra, as stated above. The first of these is the crowning piece of a monolithic pillar, in the form of the top of a palm tree, and the second consists of two human figures standing back to back, facing in opposite directions and having a halo of lustre between the two heads.†

The site, which covers an area of more than two square miles, is a promising field for archaeological excavations, which were conducted there in four instalments in the years 1925, 1934, 1940 and 1941. The excavated spot, which is about a mile to the north-west of the modern village, revealed the existence of some interesting stone sculptures and a brick platform, all testifying to the existence of a Hindu temple of an early age, and some terracotta objects, mainly consisting of figures of animals and human busts and heads with beautiful facial expressions, head-dresses and fine coiffure‡.

Strange as it may appear, not a single coin was unearthed in excavations conducted on this site for four seasons,× as stated above, and all coins dealt with in the present work were picked up from fields around ! But the mystery is solved when we consider that the

* XVII, pt. i, p. 53 & pl.; ii, p. 38; XVIII, p. 67.

† *A.S.I. A.R.*, 1914-5, pt. i, p. 21.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1924-5, p. 165; *Gwalior Arch. Reports* for 1924-5, 1933-4, 1939-40 and 1940-41, pp. 9, 9, 15 and 22 respectively.

× *A.S.I. A.R.*, 1924-5, p. 166.

area tapped in all these excavations was not the main site of Padmāvati, stated to lie on the confluence of the rivers Sindh and Pārvaṭī* but only a mound in its suburb, about a mile to its north-west and on the opposite site of the rivers. Moreover, these excavations were guided by the motive of conservation, the attempt being mainly to expose and conserve a structure, consisting of three high solid platforms rising one upon another. This monument stands on the north of the river Pārvaṭī, whereas the ancient city of Padmāvati was situated on its south, on its confluence with the river Sindh. A fresh attempt to excavate the main site is expected to be crowned with success.

We have no means to precisely locate Kāntipurī, which is another capital of the Nāgas, as stated in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. The late Dr. K.P. Jayaswal had suggested that this place may have been the old site of Kantit in the Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh; but he was not confident about it, for he has used the expression 'seems to represent.'† In support of his statement Dr. Jayaswal tells us that Kantit is an old site on the Ganges, possessing a mud-fort, which, according to a local tradition, belonged originally to the Bhar kings, who are taken by him to be identical with the Bhāraśivas, on the similarity in the two names. And referring to the find of some antiquities of the Gupta period at the place, he observes that it must have come on the way of the Bhāraśiva kings while reaching the Ganges through Baghelkhand from the jungle of Hoshangabad and Jabalpur from where they had re-issued.‡

No further light appears to have been shed on this point; and Jayaswal's theory deserves to be examined closely, as it has a bearing on the history of the time. For if we accept his views regarding the identification of Kāntipurī with Kantit, we have to admit that the whole of the upper Gangetic doab, including Mirzapur, Banda, Jhansi and Kanpur, along with regions around Padmāvati and Mathurā, was under the imperial rule of the Nāga sovereigns who led the movement to drive out the foreign Kushān power.

It may be observed here, first of all, that Jayaswal not only places more reliance on the tradition prevailing at Kantit but also connects the Bhara kings with the Bhāraśiva Nāgas, for which we have

* इह पारासिन्धुसङ्गमवगाह्य नगरीं प्रविशामः (मालतीमाधव)

† *History*, p. 29.

‡ *Ibid.*

no evidence except some similarity in the two names. Moreover, even admitting that Kantit is an old place situated on the old way from Baghelkhand to the Ganges, as maintained by him, we have not the slightest evidence to show that the Bhāraśivas may have occupied it and made it their capital. And above all, it is worthy of note that not a single Nāga coin resembling those of the Padmāvati series has so far been found there. We cannot, therefore, accept the suggestion of the learned scholar that the old village of Kantit in the Mirzapur district may have been the Kāntipurī of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, and, as already suggested by Cunningham, we have to look for this capital of the Nāga rulers within some moderate distance of Mathurā and also of Padmāvati*.

Following Cunningham, I am inclined to hold that the site of Kāntipurī is represented by Kutwār, a village in the Morena district of Madhya Pradesh. It is some 17 miles north-east of Gwalior and is in the same region as of Padmāvati and Mathurā, lying almost in the middle of the two, about 75 miles from either of them. As Cunningham has noted, local traditions are unanimous in making it more ancient than Gwalior. It is situated on a low rocky hill in the bend of the Ahsin river, protected by it on two sides; and its antiquities have been described by Cunningham, who stated that 'there is an accumulation of from 20 to 30 feet of ruins on the top of the rock, in which old coins are found in considerable numbers.'† Here it may be noted with interest that this site had yielded a hoard of 18659 coins in 1927-8, all of which are of the same well known type of coins from Padmāvati and represent almost all the Nāga rulers.‡ This numismatic evidence is overwhelming to establish its identity with the Kāntipurī of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*.

A further important evidence supporting this view may be given here. In my recent visit to the place I had the good fortune of meeting a local person of the name of Babulal, who possessed a lot of coins, which, as I was informed, were all collected from this ancient site during rains. He was kind enough to place these coins at my disposal for a few days; and when I brought them with me to Gwalior and cleaned

* *A.S.I., A.R.*, II, p. 307. That this place was probably not far from Mathurā is also shown by Dr. Raychaudhury in his *P.H.A.I.*, p. 461, n. 2.

† *A.S.I., A.R.*, II, p. 397.

‡ *G.A.R.*, 1927-8, p. 16.

them, they were found to be Nāga coins of the same type as we find at Padmāvati. They number 958 and represent the following rulers:—

S.No.	Name of King	Type	No. of Coins	Condition
1.	Bṛihaspati	Bull r.	1	worn.
2.	Prabhākara	„ 1.	1	broken.
3.	Vibhu	„ 1.	3	one in good condition.
4.	Bhava	(a) „ r.	1	} legend fragmentary.
		(b) „ 1.	2	
5.	Deva	Wheel	12	fair.
6.	Gaṇapati	(a) Bull	43	name Gaṇa- pendra.
		(b) „	179	name Gaṇendra.
		(c) „	84	name Gaṇa.....
		(d) „	61	„ Ga.....
		(e) „	316	„ fragment- ary.
7.	Unidentified, broken or with- out names			
Total			256 959	

As it can be seen, this lot contains Gaṇapati's coins in the largest number, but some of them are of rare types and varieties. They will be found enlisted at the end of the *Catalogue*, under the head "Supplementary."

For all these reasons and particularly on the numismatic evidence I do not agree with K.P. Jayaswal and hold that almost certainly the Nāga capital Kāntipurī is identical with the ancient site of Kutwār in the Morena district of Madhya Pradesh.

The mention of nine Nāgas at Padmāvati and seven at Mathurā has made it plausible to hold that there were two Nāga houses—one at each of these places, and the Nāga house of Kāntipurī is taken to be a third one. But the Nāga coins known so far are only those revealing names of the rulers of Padmāvati; we have no coins of any other Nāga house ruling either at Mathurā or at Kāntipurī. Can we not therefore presume that there was only one single Nāga kingdom with its capital at Padmāvati and that Mathurā and Kāntipurī were subsidiary capitals

or important place in the Nāga territories ? The statement of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* mentioning the Nāgas as ruling at the three places does not make any distinction in this respect; and the seven Nāga rulers who are mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as holding sway over Mathurā may have been out of the same nine who flourished at Padmāvati. We find coins of the same house at all the three places and this numismatic evidence goes to corroborate the view stated above, which, however, cannot be finalised until some strong evidence is available.

APPENDIX B

Provenance of Nāga Coins

Nāga coins have been obtained not only at Pawāyā but at some other places also, and here we propose to mention them, giving references to works dealing with them and also making a few remarks wherever necessary. These finds are from:—

1. NARWAR (Dist. Shivpuri, M. P.), published by Cunningham in *J.A.S.B.*, 1865, pp. 115 ff. and in his *Coins of Mediaeval India*, pp. 23 f. Also see his *A.S.I.R.*, II, pp. 307 ff.

This place attained prominence in the mediæval times, in 12-13th centuries A.D., when it became the capital of the Yajvapāla dynasty. No antiquity of the Nāga age, i. e. of 3-4th centuries A.D., has been found there. It is not far from Pawāyā and is on the bank of the same river Sindh on which Pawāyā is situated, and this may possibly explain Cunningham's find of these coins there.

2. GOHAD (Dist. Bhind, M. P.), published by Cunningham in *ibid.* The place is 35 miles to north-east of Gwalior and in the same region in which Kutwār (Kāntipurī) is situated. It does not contain any antiquity of the 3-4th centuries A.D.

3. VIDISĀ (Bhilsa, M. P.), published by Cunningham and D. R. Bhandarkar in *A.S.I.R.*, X, pp. 37 ff. and *ibid.*, 1913-4, p. 88 respectively. Bhandarkar's coins were obtained in excavations at the site

4. KUTWĀR (Dist. Morena, M. P.); a hoard of 18959 Nāga coins was found there as treasure-trove, in 1927-8 A.D.; see *Gwalior Arch. Report* for the year, p. 16 and appx. A above.

5. A place in the district of Jhansi, U. P., giving a large hoard of several thousands of Nāga coins, unpublished and lying in the

Provincial Museum, Lucknow, for about half a century. See *J.N.S.I.*, XV, p. 102, n. 1.

6. UJJAIN (M. P.); a number of Nāga coins collected by Shri. V.S. Wakankar, from the bed of the Sipra; unpublished. Among them the coins of Gaṇapati Nāga are overwhelming in number, corroborating the statement of the *Bhāva Śataka* (*Kāvya-mālā series*), according to which his kingdom extended up to Dhār in the south. He is called *Dhārādhiśa* in it.

All these finds tend to show that the kingdom of the Nāga rulers extended from Bhilsa in the south to Morena district in the north and also included territories round about Jhansi. In later days its sphere extended up to the region of Malwa, *Ākarāvanti*, in the south (as shown by the finds of Bhilsa and Ujjain) and to that of Mathurā in the north.

APPENDIX C

Miscellaneous Coins from Pawāyā

The site of Padmāvati has yielded the following different series of ancient Indian coins, besides those of the Nāga kings:—

1. Early single type silver coins (*J. N. S. I.*, XVII, ii, p. 39; *ibid.*, XVIII, ii, p. 163).
2. Cast coins (*ibid.*, XVIII, i, p. 67).
3. Tribal or local coins (*ibid.*, XVII, ii, p. 40; XVIII, i, p. 68).
4. Mālava coins (see p. 57 below).
5. Coins of Jishṇu (rare, type as in *J.N.S.I.*, XIII, pp. 150 & 192).
6. Coins of Nava and Virasena (type as in *B.M.C.A.I.*, pp. 154 & 280 respectively).

These coins are noteworthy from the point of view of their find-spot and in the light of the same they call for some remarks. As regards the first three of these series, I have nothing to add to what I have stated while publishing them in *J.N.S.I.*, and the Mālava coins appear to have travelled here from the adjacent region of Jaipur-Tonk where they were current. The Jishṇu coins found on this site not only suggest their affinity with those of the Nāgas and the Mālavas but also that they may probably have been issued by a clan of the Mālavas themselves (see p. iv, n., above).

The discovery of the coins of Nava and Virasena on this site has an important bearing on the subject. For not even a single coin issued by either of them has been found here before this, and this is one of the arguments advanced by Dr. Altekar against the theory of Jayaswal, taking these kings to be the originators of the Nāga dynasty.* The find of these coins on this site raises the hope of discovering there some more specimens of the type; and along with them we have also to take into account the two coins of Virasena, published by me in *J.N.S.I.*, XVII, ii, p. 49. But unless we know whether they all originated here or have travelled from outside, it is not possible to state anything definitely on the problem.

On the coin of Nava the symbol on the right of the obverse is very distinct, though it cannot be stated with confidence whether it stands for the numerical figure 7 or for the hood of a snake, as taken differently by scholars.† The solitary coin showing this symbol clearly is the one illustrated in *I.M.C.*, Pl. XXIII, 15, and the present one, which is the second of the type, is an addition to our knowledge.

ADDENDUM

Some Unique Coins from Bhilsa

While these last pages were going through the press I happened to see some copper coins throwing important light on the origin of the Nāga coinage. They are owned by Shri. Shantilal Pardeshi of Indore, who acquired them from Bhilsa. They are noticed here, in brief, with his kind permission. They are illustrated on Pl. X.

In shape, size, weight and fabric these coins resemble those of the Nāga kings, but what is noteworthy about them is that they are all uninscribed, showing, on one side, a lotus or 6, 8 or more petals, within a circle, probably representing Padmāvati (city of lotus), and on the other, the figure of either a peacock or a couchant bull to right or left, similar to that on the Nāga coins. Thus these specimens seem to have been the originators of the later Nāga coinage, though it appears strange that this type has not so far been found at Pawāyā itself.

* *J.N.S.I.*, V, pp. 120 ff.

† *Ibid.*

COINS OF THE NĀGA KINGS OF PADMĀVATĪ

VRISHA OR VRISHABHAVA

TYPE: BULL & LEGEND

Obverse — Inside a dotted circle, a humped bull, facing, with a pellet between horns.

Reverse — Circular Brāhmī legend around a rayed Sun or star.

महाराज श्री वृषभ or वृषभव.

(*Mahārāja Śrī Vṛishabha or Vṛishabhava*).

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
1	32.5	.45 to .55	महाराज श्री वृषभ	For details see <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XV, p. 121 & Pl. Pl. I, 1
2	32.45	.4 to .45	महाराज श्री वृषभव	Letters very clear and well impressed. Pl. I, 2
3	32.03	.4 to .45	महाराज श्री [वृष—]	Worn; legend fragmentary and in incuse.
4	28.93	.4 to .4	महाराज श्री वृ[—]	Clipped at edge; rev. saucer-shaped.

BHĪMA NĀGA

TYPE: PEACOCK & LEGEND

Var. a

Obverse—Peacock, roughly executed, standing to l., in a dotted circle.

Reverse—Spear-head, pointing to r. or l.; Brāhmī legend, in two horizontal lines, above and below it:

1. *Mahārājasa* महाराजस
2. *Bhīmanāgasa* भीमनागस*

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
1	41.72	·4 to ·45	[—]हाराज[स] [—]मनाग[स]	Truncated at edge; animal figure small and at top.
2	32.09	·4 to ·45	[—]हाराज[स] —मनाग[—]	Spear-head very clear.
3	29.00	·35 to ·40	[—] [—]मनागस	Figure obliterated on <i>obv.</i> ; on <i>rev.</i> <i>sa</i> is clear in the end, but the existence of the following <i>ya</i> is uncertain. Pl. I, 3
4	28.86	·4	महाराज— —मना[—]	Parts of letters out of flan.

* On none of the coins of this ruler I could find the legend ending in *sa* and hence I take it ending in *sa*, as on coin No. 3. On other coins the last letter is fragmentary, as the last letter of line one, which I take as *sa*, thus ending the epithet in Prakrit.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
5	28.54	.4 to .45	[—ह]राज[स] [—]मनाग[स]	Upper line of legend blurred.
6	28.1	.4	[—]हाराज[—] [—]मनाग[स]	The epithet appears to be <i>Rājarāja</i> (?) *. Pl. I, 4
7	27	.4	[—]हाराज[—] [—]मनाग[—]	Slightly truncated at edge. Pl. I, 5
Var. <i>b</i> : The same as in Var. <i>a</i> , but with the peacock well drawn.				
8	40.65	.4	महारा[—] भीम[ना—]	Thick; crest graceful.
9	39.37	.45 to .5	महाराज— भीमना[ग—]	Letters very clear. Pl. I, 6
10	36.4	.45 to .5	महाराज[—] भीम नाग[—]	Animal graceful. Pl. I, 7
11	33.5	.5	(See <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XV, P. 130 & Pl.)	
12	31.6	.4 to .45	महाराज[—] भीमनाग[—]	Pl. I, 8

* The vertical showing the latter part of *hā* has some additional strokes, making it appear as *ja*, and thus the initial stroke of this letter appears to be *ra*; but these strokes are joined at the base, as in the case of a *hā*.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
13	30	·4	[—]हाराज[—] [—]मना[म—]	Part of line 1 off the flan; spear-head very clear. Pl. I, 9
14	28·9	·4 to ·45	[—]हाराज[—] [—]भिमनाग[स]	Animal figure miniature and at the top; some indistinct impression on this side. * Pl. I, 10
15	25·1	·35	[—]हाराज[—] [—]मना[—]	Clipped and thus of rectangular shape.
16	23·35	·4 to ·45	[—]हाराज[—] [—]भिमनाग[—]	Break on <i>bhī</i> ; spear-head to l. † Pl. I, 11
17	"	·4	[—]हाराज[स] [—]मनाग[स]	As above. Pl. I, 12
18	23·2	·35	[महाराजस] [—]भिमनाग[—]	A complete coin with part of l. 1 out of the flan.
19	8·75	·3	महाराज भिमनाग[स]	A quarter <i>kākinī</i> ; unique, but with <i>obv.</i> obliterated. Pl. I, 13

* It resembles a twig.

† Cf. coin No. 2, showing the same to r.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
		Unrepresented type: A coin of Bhīma, described as follows: <i>Obv.</i> Bull standing to l. <i>Rev.</i> Legend: <i>rāja śrī-Bhī (madeva)</i> (<i>A.S.I.R.</i> , 1914-5, P. 88, No.9), *		

* This coin is not illustrated. But my curiosity about it resulted in knowing that all the coins excavated at Bhilsa and described in Bhandarkar's report are now in the Gwalior Museum; and with this clue it was not difficult to pick up this particular specimen. Looking to how the coins of this lot have been kept, with their numbers and some other details well arranged, I was convinced that it is the same specimen on which Bhandarkar has read the legend as stated above. But it was noted to be too much rusted and corroded to give any satisfactory reading. When cleaned, it was found to be a coin of *Gaṇendra Nāga*. It is illustrated on Pl. V, 5.

SKANDA NĀGA
TYPE 1: PEACOCK & LEGEND

Var. *a*

Obverse—Peacock standing to r., in a circle of pellets.

Reverse—Two daggers or short spears; circular Brāhmī legend around the edge, VII, महाराज स्कन्द नागस्य;

(*Mahārāja Skanda Nāgasya*)

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
1	42.77	.45	[—] स्कन्द नाग[—]	Animal figure partly come out; also some indistinct symbols or traces of inscription on <i>obv.</i> ; on <i>rev.</i> legend not fully come out.
2	38.34	.45	महाराज स्कन्द [—] स्य	Peacock on platform; <i>obv.</i> also shows some marks on l. Pl. I, 14
3	37.25	.45 to .5	[—] हाराज स्कन्द नागस्य	Cut at I; <i>nda</i> clear; probable traces of original striking on both sides. Pl. I, 15
4	36.22	.5 to .55	महाराज स्कन्द नागस्य	Also some indistinct traces on <i>obv.</i> Pl. I, 16

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
5	35.65	·45 to ·5	महाराज स्कन्द [—] ग	Peacock graceful. Pl. I, 17
6	35·5	·45 to ·55	[महा]राज स्कन्द नागस्य	<i>Obv.</i> shows only the tail with some indistinct marks; <i>rev.</i> saucer—shaped. Pl. I, 18
7	32·40	·45 to ·5	[—]रा[ज]स्कन्द ना[—]	Slight break on edge; <i>Skanda</i> very clear. Pl. I, 19
8	31·78	·55	म [—]स्कन्द नागस्य	<i>Obv.</i> obliterated; legend in incuse; <i>nda</i> and <i>sya</i> very clear. Pl. I, 20
9	31·09	·55	[—]ज स्कन्द नागस्य	Coin rubbed; <i>sya</i> clear; breaks at edge.
10	28.5	·45 by ·55	म[हा]राज स्कन्द नागस्य	Broken around the edge; apparently rectangular. Pl. I, 21
Var. <i>b</i>				
<i>Obv. & Rev:</i> The same as in Var <i>a</i> , but with the peacock to L.				
11	40·96	·45 to ·5	[महा]राज स्कन्द [—]	Feathers graceful; legend partially preserved. Pl. I, 22

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
12	36.9	.45	म[हारा]ज स्कन्द नाग[स्य]	Portion clipped.
13	34.65	.45	महाराज स्कन्द नाग[—]	Legend in incuse.
14	33.89	.4 to .5	[—स्कन्द] ना[—]	Clipped around the edge; <i>rev.</i> saucer-shaped.
15	31.46	.45 to .47	म[—]रा[ज] स्कन्द[—]	Animal very graceful with crest and feathers. Pl. I, 23
16	30.9	.4 to .45	* [म]हाराज स्क[न्द नागस्य]	Miniature figure of peacock, in upper l. corner, defaced; Legend partially come out; some additional traces on both sides. Pl. I, 24
17	28.69	.45 to .5	महाराज स्कन्द नागस्य	Clipped around the edge; <i>syn</i> clear. Pl. I, 25
18	24.22	.45	महाराज स्कन्द [नाग]	Some additional indistinct traces on both sides. Pl. I, 26

* The coin is worn and the characters are uncertain. Does it show *dha* (of *Adhirāja*) at IX ?

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
19	23.91	.5 to .55	महाराज स्कन्द [—]	Thin; <i>obv.</i> corroded.
20	23.15	.5 to .55	[महा]राज [स्कन्द नागस्य]	<i>Obv.</i> corroded; some additional indistinct traces on both sides.
21	22.95	.4 to .45	महाराज स्क[न्द—]	As on above; counter-struck (?); legend imperfect. Pl. I, 27

Type 2: BULL & LEGEND

Obverse—Recumbent humped bull to r., in a circle of dots.

Reverse—Two daggers or short spears; circular Brāhmī legend around the edge, as in type 1.

22	38.34	.4 to .45	[म]हाराज स्क[न्द—]	Roughly round.
23	34	.5	[महा]राज स्कन्द नागस्य	See <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XV, P. 130 & Pl. Pl. I, 28
24	33.96	.45 to .5	[—]राज स्कन्द [ना]गस्य	Letters not well arranged but the name is very distinct. Pl. I, 29

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
25	33·32	·45 to ·5	[महा]राज स्कन्द नागस* (?)	Slightly clipped or peeled off at the edge. The last letter is clearly <i>sa</i> .
26	31·30	·5 to ·55	[] राज स्कन्द नागस्य	Roughly round, being peeled off at the edge. The last letter <i>sya</i> can be clearly read on the coin. Pl. I, 30
27	22·37	·4	महाराज स्क[न्द नागस्य]	Whether a horse or a bull is doubtful; see <i>J. N. S. I.</i> , XIV, P. 79 & pl. Pl. VI, 8
28	12·49	·35 to ·4	महाराज स्क [३] द नाग[—]	Saucer-shaped on <i>rev.</i> side and slightly-worn, but showing smaller denomination.
29	12·25	·4 to ·45	महारा[ज] स्क[द] नाग	In poor condition; the animal looks more like a lion (?) Pl. I, 31

*This *sa* is followed immediately by the strokes of the dagger and it is possible that due to this the *ya* of *sya* could not have been impressed.

VASU NĀGA

TYPE: PEACOCK & LEGEND

Obverse — Peacock standing to r., in a dotted circle.

Reverse — Two parallel vertical lines; circular Brāhmī legend around the edge, VII, महाराज वसुनागस्य.

(*Mahārāja Vasunāgasya*).

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
1	49.30	.45 to .5	[महा]राज वसुनाग[—]	Oval; the animal looks more like a horse or deer, running; some other marks also, on this side; restruck (?) Pl. II, 1
2	47	.45 to .5	[महाराज] वसुनागस्य	Feathers graceful; <i>rev.</i> saucer-shaped; <i>sya</i> clear. Pl. II, 2
3	41.66	.45 to .47	[महाराज] वसु[नाग—]	Clipped at edge and thus losing a portion of the animal figure; some indistinct additional traces on both sides. Pl. I, 3

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
4	40.11	.45 to .5	[—] वसु [—] स्य	In poor condition; peacock graceful. The <i>obv.</i> also shows some indistinct traces (restruck ?) Pl. II, 4
5	39.86	.45 to .5	[—] ज वसुना [ग —]	<i>Oby.</i> rubbed smooth; legend is partly preserved in incuse.
6	39.50	.45 to .47	म [—] राज व, सु [—]	Animal figure partly preserved; on <i>rev.</i> ending <i>sa</i> of legend very distinct; coin restruck (?). Pl. II, 5
7	36.5	.4 to .45	[—] वसुनागस्य	Apparently rectangular; for details see <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XV, P. 132 & Pl. 132 & Pl. 132 Pl. II, 6
8	33.5	.45	(See <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XIV, P. 76 & Pl. V, 6).	
9	33.2	.45	महाराज वसुनाग [—]	Some other traces mixed with the legend. Pl. II, 7
10	31.85	.45 to .5	[—] वसु नाग [—]	Part of legend in incuse.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
11	31.3	.45	[—]ज वसुना[ग—]	Partly clipped around the edge.
12	27.85	.45 to .5	महाराज वसु[— र]य	Peacock rudely drawn; legend shows the ending -ya distinctly. Pl. II, 8
13	27.70	.4 to .45	महाराज वसुना[ग]स्य	Clipped around the edge; on <i>obv.</i> clear traces of original striking; legend partly come out in incuse. Pl. II, 9
14	23.91	.4 by .5	महाराज वसु[—]	Rectangular be- cause clipped; clear traces of original striking on both sides. Pl. II, 10
15	23.29	.45	[—]वसु ना[—]	On <i>obv.</i> , animal figure obliterated; traces of original striking on both sides. Pl. II, 11

BRIHASPATI NĀGA

TYPE 1: BULL & LEGEND

Var. *a*

Obverse— Recumbent humped bull to r., in a circle of pellets.

Reverse— Circular Brāhmī legend, VII, महाराज बृहस्पति नाग,*

(*Mahārāja Brihaspati Nāga*).

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
1	26.23	.35	महाराज बृहस्पति नाग	Round but slightly truncated at edge; letters clear and distinct. Pl. II, 12
2	24.7	.35	महाराज बृहस्पति नाग	Peeled off at the edge.
3	24.3	.3 to .35	[महाराज] बृहस्पति नाग	„ „ „
4	20.5	.35 to .4	महाराज बृ[ह]स्पति ना[ग]	Some letters of legend are blurred.
5	20	.42	महाराज बृहस्पति नाग	For details see <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XV, P. 131, No. 3 and Pl. II, 13

* Coins issued by this ruler are generally smaller in size and therefore the upper parts of letters on them are out of the flan. This is not very strictly taken into account here.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
6	19.80	·4	महाराज बृहस्पति नाग	Letters clear and equidistant. Pl. II, 14
7	19.4	·35	महाराज बृ[ह]स्पति नाग	Ha in the name is corroded; rest all clear.
8	18.1	·35	[महाराज] बृहस्पति नाग	I—mātrā clear. Pl. II, 15
9	17	·4	महाराज बृहस्पति नाग	As above. Pl. II, 16
10	17	·37 to ·4	महाराज बृहस्पति नाग	See J.N.S.I., XV, P. 131 & Pl.
11	15.64	·4	[महा]राज बृहस्पति नाग	Thinner and of greater diameter; rev. saucer-shaped. Pl. II, 17
12	15.27	·35 to ·4	महाराज बृह	As above; letters crude.
13	15.2	·35 to ·4	महाराज बृहस्प	No space between spa and ma.
14	14.05	·3 to ·35	महारा[—] बृहस्प	As above; parts of letters out of flan. Pl. II, 18

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
15	13.73	.45	महाराज बृह[—]	Legend lightly impressed; part in an incuse, making the coin saucer-shaped.
16	13.5	.35	महाराज बृहस्पति नाग	<i>Obv.</i> very slightly corroded.
17	13.5	.3 to .45	महाराज बृहस्प	Thin; with similar wt. this coin and the preceding one differ in size.
18	13.2	.35	महाराज बृहस्पति	
19	12.5	.3 to .35	[म]हाराज बृहस्पति ना[ग]	
Var. b				
<i>Obv. & Rev.:</i> The same as in Var. a, but with the bull facing left.				
20	19	.35 to .4	[—] बृहस्पति [ना]ग	<i>Rev.</i> is saucer-shaped; letters partly impressed.
20(a)	19	.3 to .35	महारा[ज] बृ*[—]...	Pl. II, 19
21	18.20	.35	महाराज बृहस्पति[—]	Upper parts of letters clipped or out of flan.

*Letters of the name are bigger and more distinct than those of the epithet.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
22	18.9	.35	महाराज बृहस्प[ति नाग]	As preceding; also saucer-shaped.
23	18.6	.35 to .4	महाराज बृहस्पति	Letters not well come out. Pl. II, 20
24	16.66	.35	महाराज बृह	As above; upper parts of letters out of flan. Pl. II, 21
25	15.8	.33 to .35	[म]हाराज बृहस्प[—]	Bull with a big hump.
26	15.6	.35	म[हा]राज बृहस्पति*	Rev. is saucer-shaped; letters cut at edge. Pl. II, 22
27	15.6	.35	महाराज बृ[—]	Only the first letter of name is preserved.
28	13.88	.3 to .35	म,हाराज बृ[—]	As above. No space between <i>Bri</i> † and <i>ma</i> . Pl. II, 23

* The name begins at VIII.

† This *Bri* looks like *Pu*, with a dot-like figure following it, and it is not known whether this may have been read as *Puñ*, taking it as the name of a new prince. See *J.N.S.I.*, V, p. 130.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
TYPE 2: TRIDENT & LEGEND				
<i>Var. a</i>				
<i>Obverse</i> —In a circle of pellets, trident, with battle-axe attached to its handle, on right.				
<i>Reverse</i> —Circular legend, as in the preceding type.				
29	12.49	·3 to ·35	महाराज बृह[स्प]ति [—]	Edge peeled off; <i>mātrā</i> of <i>hā</i> attached on r. and not at top.
30	11.88	·35 to ·4	महा[—] बृहस्पति	Edge slightly peeled off.
31	11.8	·3 to ·35	महाराज बृहस्पति [—]	<i>Rev.</i> saucer-shaped; letters truncated at edge.
32	11.	·3	महाराज बृहस्प[—]	Pl. II, 24
33	9.25	·3 to ·35	महाराज बृहस्प[—]	<i>Ti</i> smaller in size. Pl. II, 25
34	6.66	·25 to ·3	[महा]राज बृ'हस्पति	<i>Spa</i> unusually bigger in size.
35	6.51	·3 to ·35	[म]हाराज बृहस्पति	Corroded on rev.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
36	6	·3	महाराज बृहस्पति [नाग]	Corroded on rev.
37	6	·3	महाराज बृहस्प	Very slight break at one point of the edge.
38	5·77	·3 to ·35	महाराज बृहस्प[—]	Legend partially preserved, particularly the name is so.
39	4·93	·3	[महाराज] बृहस्प	Only the first three letters of the name are complete.
<p style="text-align: center;">Var. <i>b</i> (Rare)*</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Obverse & Reverse</i>—The same as in the preceding Var., but with the axe attached on left.</p>				
40	9·9	·3 to ·35	महाराज बृहस्पति [—]	Legend complete but not well arranged on the flan. The rev. is worn. Pl. II, 26
41	7	·3	[—] बृहस्प[ति]	For details see <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XV, p. 131, No. 1 & Pl.

*Only three coins of this Variety have been known so far.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
42	6.40	.25 to .3	महाराज बृहस्पति [—]	Corroded and worn.*
<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE 3: WHEEL & LEGEND (Unique)</p> <p><i>Obverse</i>—Within a spoked wheel, an indistinct object, probably a recumbent bull.</p> <p><i>Reverse</i>—Circular legend as in the preceding type.</p>				
43	18.	.3	[— — — ज] बृहस्प [—]	This is the only known coin of this type; for details see <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XIV, p. 79 & pl.

*Nos. 33--42 appear to be quarter *kākinis* struck by this ruler; they have, however, lost some weight as their edges show. They are all very thin.

VIBHU NĀGA

TYPE 1 : BULL & LEGEND

Obverse— In a circle of pellets, humped bull walking to l.

Reverse— Battle-axe; circular Brāhmī legend,

VII, महाराज श्री विभुनाग.
(*Mahārāja Śrī Vibhunāga*).

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
1	63.12	.5 to .55	[महा]राज श्री विभु[—]	For details see <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XVII, Pt. ii, p. 48, No. 3 & Pl.
2	47.5	.45 to .47	महाराज श्री [वि]भु ना	Partly cut at edge.
3	46.30	.38 to .45	महाराज श्री विभु[—]	<i>J.N.S.I.</i> , <i>ibid.</i> , p. 48, No. 4 & Pl.
4	43.85	.4	महाराज श्री विभु [ना]	Slightly peeled off at edge.
5	41.2	.45 to .5	महाराज श्री विभु	As No. 4, above; irregularly round.
6	40.65	.5	महाराज श्री विभु नाग	Letters clear and complete with vowel marks. Pl. II, 27

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
7	39.06	.4 to .45	महारा[——]विभु	A complete coin.
8	38.15	.4	महाराज श्री विभु	Edge slightly peeled off.
9	38.11	.4 to .45	महाराज श्री विभु [—]	Cut at edge; <i>mātrās</i> very clear. Pl. II, 28
10	37.95	.4 to .45	महाराज श्री विभु	Upper parts of <i>Vibhu</i> are out of flan.
11	35.15	.4	[महाराज श्री वि]भु नाग	What remains is very clear with <i>mātrās</i> . Pl. II, 29
12	34.5	.45 to .5	महाराज श्री वि[भु]	Bull on platform; legend begins at I. Pl. II, 30
13	34.5	.4 to .45	[महा]राज श्री विभु	Irregularly round, partly peeled off at edge; <i>mātrās</i> clear. Pl. II, 31
14	33.48	.35	[महाराज श्री वि]भु	Cut at edge; <i>mātrā</i> of <i>bhu</i> is clear. Pl. II, 32
15	32.85	.4 to .45	महाराज श्री विभु	Slightly peeled off at edge.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
16	31.32	.4	महाराज श्री वि[भु]	Bull on platform; stroke of <i>bhu</i> combined with axe.
17	28.28	4 to .45	[महाराज श्री] विभु नाग	Worn and slightly broken at edge. Battle-axe complete and distinct. Pl. II, 33
18	28.15	.45	महा[राज श्री वि]भु नाग	Letters very clear, though some clipped.
19	27.32	.4	महाराज श्री विभु	For details see <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XVII, p. 48, No. 5 & Pl. II, 34
20	21.09	.4 to .45	[म]हारा[ज] श्री विभु नाग	Bull on a platform; legend partly blurred.
21	20.36	.4	[—ह—] श्री विभु ना	<i>Mātrās</i> of <i>Vibhu</i> very clear.
22	19.67	.4	[महा]रा[ज] श्री विभु	Apparently rectangular; upper parts of letters truncated. Pl II, 35
23	19.56	.4	[म]हाराज श्री विभु	Edge very slightly peeled off.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
<p align="center">TYPE 2: ŚIVA-LIṂGA (?) & LEGEND</p> <p align="center"><i>Obverse & Reverse</i>—The same as in type 1, but instead of the bull, a curious object, appearing like a Śiva-liṅga on an <i>arghapatta</i>.</p>				
24	28·31	·3 to ·35	म[हाराज श्री] विभु ना	Thick; legend in an incuse. Pl. II, 36
25	24·92	·35	महाराज श्री विभु	Name clear but corroded. Pl. II, 37
26	17·65	·25 to ·3	म[हाराज] श्री विभु ना[—]	Slightly peeled off at edge. Pl. II, 38
27	17·27	·25 to ·3	महाराज श्री [वि]भु [—]	Slight cut at edge; letters not deep.
28	15·94	·25 to ·3	महाराज श्री विभु	” ” ”
29	15·93	·25 to ·3	— विभु ना —	Letters partly impressed. Pl. II, 39
30	13·9	·25 to ·3	[महाराज श्री] विभु	Broken at edge and thus irregular in shape.
<p align="center">TYPE 3: WHEEL & LEGEND</p> <p align="center"><i>Obverse & Reverse</i>—The same as above but with a wheel on obverse.</p>				
31	19·29	·36	For this unique coin see <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XVII, p. 49, pt. ii, No. 7 & Pl.	

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
TYPE 4: SQUATTING BULL & LEGEND				
<i>Obverse & Reverse</i> —The same as above, but with the bull squatting.				
32	47.48	.47	For this unique coin too, see <i>ibid.</i> , p. 49, No. 5 & pl.	
TYPE 5: CRESCENT & LEGEND				
33	7.65	.25 to .3	[—] ऋ श्री वि [—]	The reverse is much worn and the legend can be read only on the coin. <i>Bhu</i> is very distinct. Pl. II, 40
Unrepresented type:				
Vibhu's coin, showing the bull to r., for which see <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , Vol. V, p. 26, No. 1 (first coin) & pl. This coin was obtained from Pawaya and is now in the coin cabinet of the Banaras Hindu University.				

RAVI NĀGA

TYPE: BULL & LEGEND

Obverse—Bull walking to left, in a circle of pellets.

Reverse—Battle-axe, as on the coins of Vibhu; circular Brāhmī legend around the edge, VII, महाराज श्री रवि.

(Mahārāja Śrī Ravi).

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
1	45.67	·4 to ·45	[—]राज श्री रवि[—]	Saucer-shaped on rev., edge broken at VII-VIII and thus losing the epithet. Pl. III, 1
2	37.18	·4	[—]श्री रवि	Bull walking on a platform; peeled off or clipped on the left and thus losing the epithet. Pl. III, 2
3	36.4	·4	[—]श्री रवि	Peeling as on the preceding coins. Pl. III, 3

BHAVA NĀGA

CLASS 1

TYPE 1: BULL & LEGEND

Var. *a*

Obverse — Humped bull walking to r., in a circle of pellets.

Reverse—Trident in the field; circular Brāhmi legend,

VII, महाराज भव नाग.

(*Mahārāja Bhavanāga*).

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
1	45.9	.45 to .5	महाराज भव नाग	Oblong; slightly peeled off at edge. Pl. III, 4
2	42.5	.45 to .5	महाराज भव नाग	As above.
3	42.5	.45	महाराज भव [—]	The space of last two letters is occupied by the base of the trident. Pl. III, 5
4	37.57	.45	महाराज भव ना[ग]	Top-strokes of <i>bhava nā</i> very clear. Pl. III, 6
5	37.34	.5	महाराज भव नाग	Thinner than Nos. 1—4.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
6	36.9	.45 to .5	महाराज भव नाग	Letters distinct and clear.
7	36.9	.5	महाराज भव ना[ग]	Legend in incuse, making <i>ga</i> partly visible.
8	36.5	.5	महाराज भव [नाग]	Partly blurred on both sides.
9	35.72	.45	महाराज भव ना[—]	Saucer—shaped on rev. Pl. III, 7
10	35.15	.5	महाराज भव ना	As above. Pl. III, 8
11	34.4	.45 to .5	महाराज भव ना[—]	Clipped at edge.
12	33.4	.5	महाराज भव	Slight peeling at edge.
13	32.63	.45	महाराज भव [—]	The portion bearing the letters <i>nāga</i> is clipped; <i>bha</i> shows long top-stroke as in <i>bhā</i> . Pl. III, 9
14	31.32	.45	महाराज भव नाग	Upper parts of letters clipped.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
15	31·	·45	महाराज भव नाग	Upper parts of <i>vanāga</i> truncaetd.
16	24·4	·45	महाराज भव नाग	Rev. saucer-shaped; letters of epithet bigger in size than those of name. Pl. III, 10

Var. *b*

Obv. & Rev.:—The same as in Var. *a*, but with the animal walking to l.

17	42·15	·45 to ·5	महाराज भव [नाग]	Corroded on <i>va</i> ; top-stroke of <i>Bha</i> noteworthy.
18	39·8	·4 to ·45	III, महाराज भव [—]	Legend in incuse.
19	38·85	·5	महाराज भव ना'	Top-stroke on <i>Bha</i> noteworthy. Pl. III, 11
20	38	45 to ·5	महाराज भव [—]	<i>Bha</i> has something like <i>ī-mātrā</i> over it. Pl. III, 12
21	36·7	·4 to ·45	महाराज भव	Edge peeled off.
22	34·96	·5	[महा]राज भव [—]	<i>Nāga</i> cut at edge.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
23	32.5	.45 to .5	I, म[हाराज] भव	Rev. corroded.
24	30.85	.45	महाराज भव नाग	Edge slightly peeled; <i>obv.</i> corroded.
25	28.8	.45	IX, महाराज भव नाग	Legend in incuse. Pl. III, 13
26	25.4	.45	IX, महाराज भ[व—]	<i>Bha</i> and <i>va</i> separated by base of the trident; no space between <i>va</i> and <i>ma</i> . Pl. III, 14

TYPE 2: TRIDENT & LEGEND

Obverse—Trident in a circle of pellets.

Reverse—Legend as in the preceding type.

27	26.9	.35 to .4	[महा]राज भव [ना—]	<i>Bhava</i> very clear; all other letters clipped around the edge.
28	22.5	.4 by .3	[म]हाराज भव ना[ग]	Apparently rectangular; corroded and lost a portion.
29	20.3	.35 to .4	महाराज भव [ना]ग	First two letters out of flan.
30	18.67	.35	महाराज भव [—]	<i>Bha</i> palaeographically noteworthy. Pl. III, 15

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
31	16.96	.35	महाराज भव ना	Trident in a circle within the beaded border. Pl. III, 16
32	16.5	.3	महाराज भव [—]	Clipped at edge; legend complete and clear. Pl. III, 17
33	13.6	.3	महाराज भव नाग	
34	12.49	.3 to .35	महाराज भव ना[ग]	Obv. corroded; legend complete and clear.
35	12.49	.35 to .4	महाराज भव [—]	Both sides very clear. Pl. III, 18

CLASS 2

TYPE 1: BULL & LEGEND

Var. *a*

Obverse—Humped bull walking to r., in a circle of pellets.

Reverse—Trident in the field; circular Brāhmī legend, VII, अधिराज श्री भव नाग.
(*Adhirāja Śrī Bhavanāga*).

36	54.8	.45 to .5	अधिराज श्री भव [—ग]	Clipped at edge; animal on platform; <i>nā</i> mixed with base of trident. Pl. III, 19
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No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
37	48·8	·45 to ·5	अ[धिराज] श्री भव नाग	Clipped at edge.
38	48·55	·45	अधिराज श्री भवनाग	Horns of animal have formed a crescent. Pl. III, 20
39	42·85	·45	[अधिराज] श्री भव नाग	Initial portion of legend partially clipped, but <i>bhava</i> certain; top-stroke on <i>va</i> peculiar.
40	41·15	·45 to ·5	[अधिराज श्री भव [—]]	Long top-stroke on <i>bha</i> .
41	39·5	·45 to ·5	अधिराज श्री भ[व] नाग	<i>Ga</i> reversed.* Pl. III, 21
42	39·2	·45	[—]राज श्री भव [ना—]	<i>Mahā</i> clipped.
43	36·96	·4 to ·45	[अधिराज] श्री भव [—]	As on No. 36.
44	33·65	·45 to ·5	अधि'राज श्री भव	As preceding.
45	32·96	·45 to ·5	अधिरा[ज श्री भ]व	First three letters palaeographically noteworthy. Pl. III, 22

*Can it be a part of the base of the trident?

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
46	32.15	.45	III, अधिराज श्री भव नाग	Form of <i>a</i> is noteworthy.
47	30.85	.45 to .5	अधिराज श्री भव नाग	Clipped at edge.
48	30.7	.45 to .5	[अधिराज] श्री भव ना[ग]	Initial portion clipped; top-stroke of <i>va</i> , making it appear as <i>ma</i> , is noteworthy. Pl. III, 23
49	28.96	.45 to .5	अधिराज श्री भव नाग	Letters in incuse.
50	28.8	.45	अधि'राज श्री भव [—]	Letters distinct.
51	22.95	.35 to .4	II, [अधिराज] श्री' भव	Broken at edge.
52	20.21	.45	[अधिरा]ज श्री भव [—]	Slightly rubbed; animal artistic. Pl. III, 24
Var. <i>b</i> .				
<i>Obverse & Reverse</i> —The same as in Var. <i>a</i> , but with the bull walking to l.				
53	39.31	.5	अधिराज श्री भव ना[—]	Rev. saucer-shaped. Pl. III, 25

No.	Wt	Size	Legend	Remark
54	38.8	.5	अधिराज श्री भव नाग	Animal appears standing; legend complete and clear; a worth noting; prongs of trident artistically mixed with lower parts of letters. Pl. III, 26
55	36.96	.45	अधिराज श्री भव [—]	Nāga clipped.
56	35.85	.45	अधिराज श्री भव [ना]	Prongs of trident as on No. 54. Pl. III, 27
57	33.5	.45 to .5	अधिराज श्री भव ना	Clipped at edge.
58	32.96	.4 to .5	अधिराज श्री भव	Truncated around edge and therefore irregular in shape; also rubbed on rev.
59	31.8	.45	अधिराज श्री भव [—]	Worn; reading of <i>bha</i> not certain; may be <i>de</i> (?). Pl. III, 28
60	31.2	.4	अधिराज श्री भव [—]	Formation of <i>bha</i> noteworthy. Pl. III, 29

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
61	29.7	·4 to ·45	[अधि]राज श्री भव [—]	Saucer-shaped; letters are slightly rubbed.
62	28.43	·4	[—]राज श्री भव ना	Initial letters out of flan.
Var. c				
<i>Obverse & Reverse</i> —The same as in var. b, but with a crescent above the bull.				
62 (a)	37.5	·45 to ·5	[—] श्री भव नाग	Rev. saucer-shaped; initial portion of legend blurred. Pl. III, 30
TYPE 2: TRIDENT & LEGEND				
<i>Obverse</i> —Trident in a circle of pellets.				
<i>Reverse</i> —Circular Brāhmī legend as in the preceding type.				
63	24.5	·4 to ·45	अ[—] श्री भव [ना]ग	Oval; axe attached to the trident, on l.
64	22.52	·4 to ·42	अधिरा[ज] श्री भव ना	Legend in incuse; earlier letters not well impressed.
65	21	·35 to ·4	अधि,राज श्री भव नाग	Axe as on No. 63. Pl. III, 31

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
66	18.23	·37 to ·4	अधिराज श्री भव ना[ग]	Axe as on No. 65; letters distinct and clear. Pl. III, 32
67	16	·35 to ·4	अधिराज श्री भव ना[ग]	Strokes of <i>ja</i> and <i>śrī</i> mixed into one; top-stroke of <i>bha</i> noteworthy. Pl. III, 33
68	16	·35 to ·4	[—]राज श्री भव [नाग]	
69	15.9	·35	अधिराज श्री भव [—]	Saucer-shaped on reverse.
70	14.85	·35	अ[धिराज] श्री भव [—]	The first letter of the name is doubtful.* Pl. III, 34
71	14.04	·3 to ·35	अधिराज श्री [-]व	Axe attached to the trident on right; <i>bha</i> out of flan.
<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE 3: CRESCENT & LEGEND (Rare)</p> <p><i>Obverse</i>—Crescent in a beaded border, with a pellet in it.</p> <p><i>Reverse</i>—Circular Brāhmī legend as in the preceding type.†</p>				
72	9.88	·3	अधिराज श्री भव ना†	See <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XVII, p. 47 & Pl. III, 35

*Turning the coin a little to left, this letter can be read as *da*, showing that it may have been struck by Deva Nāga. Thus the attribution remains doubtful.

†No coin of this type showing the epithet महाराज is known so far; and on none of those enlisted here the legend is complete.

‡On this coin the crescent shows three dots above; it is not known whether they were so intended or are remains of the beaded border which is missing.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
73	8.02	.25	अ[-]राज श्री भव	What remains is distinct. Pl. III, 36
74	5.25	.25 to .3	अधिराज श्री भव	See <i>J.N.S.I., ibid</i> , Pl. III, 37
75	5.12	.3 to .35	अधिराज श्री [भव]	Thinner than others of the type; worn; irregularly round; flat; letters of name blurred but <i>bha</i> certain and very distinct. Pl. III, 38
76	5.09	.25	[अधि]राज श्री भव	Top-strokes of <i>Bhava</i> lost; <i>adhi</i> can be read on the coin only.

PRABHĀKARA NĀGA (?)*

TYPE 1 : BULL & LEGEND

Var. *a*

Obverse— Humped bull walking to r., in a circle of pellets.

Reverse— Circular Brāhmī legend around the edge,

महाराज श्री प्रभाकरः
(*Mahārāja Śrī Prabhākara*).

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
1	42.95	·4 to ·42	महाराज श्री प्र[भा]कर	Thick; slightly peeled off at edge. Pl. IV, 1
2	33.96	·4 to ·45	महाराज श्री प्र[भा]कर	<i>Bhā</i> blurred.
3	31.5	·45 to ·5	महारा[ज] श्री प्रभाकर	For details see <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XV, p. 134, No. 1 & Pl.
4	29.19	·4	महाराज श्री प्रभाक	No space for any letter between <i>ka</i> and <i>ma</i> . Pl. IV, 2
5	21.2	·45 to ·5	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	Coin thinner than others. Pl. IV, 3

* On none of the coins of this ruler the family name *Nāga* has so far been noticed.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
Var. <i>b</i>				
<i>Obverse & Reverse</i> —The same as in Var. <i>a</i> , but with the animal to l.				
6	42.69	·35 to ·45	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	Thick; with edge peeled but with complete legend. Pl. IV, 4
7	40	·4 to ·5		See <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XV, p. 134, No. 2 & Pl.
8	37.9	·35 to ·37	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	Clipped at edge and thus losing upper parts of the letters of epithet. Pl. IV, 5
TYPE 2: LION & LEGEND				
Var. <i>a</i> . (Unpublished & rare)				
<i>Obverse</i> —Lion to r., with mouth gaping and tail curled up.				
<i>Reverse</i> —Legend as in type 1.				
9	34.65	·45 to ·5	[महारा]ज श्री प्रभाकर	Legend in incuse; <i>mātrā</i> of <i>Bhā</i> very distinct; epithet not well impressed because of incuse on this side. Pl. IV, 6

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
10	24.65	.5	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	<i>Obv.</i> rubbed but legend complete with letters distinct.
<p style="text-align: center;">Var. <i>b</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Obverse & Reverse</i>—The same as in Var. <i>a</i>, but showing the animal to 1.</p>				
11	44.21	.4 to .45	महाराज[ज श्री] प्रभ	No space for any letter between <i>bha</i> and <i>ma</i> .
12	41.31	.45	महाराज श्री प्रभा	Figure of animal partly off the flan; no space between <i>bha</i> and <i>ma</i> . Pl. IV, 7
13	39.9	.4	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	Clipped at the edge; legend complete. Pl. IV, 8
14	39.8	.4 to .45	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर[—]	Edge slightly peeled off; <i>ra</i> unusually longer.
15	34.84	.4 to .45	[महाराज] श्री प्रभाकर	Thick.
16	34.3	.4 to .45	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	Edge slightly clipped. Pl. IV, 9

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
17	33.9	.4 to .45	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	Apparently rectangular, with complete legend. Pl. IV, 10
18	33.9	.4 to .5	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	Slightly worn and clipped at edge.
19	32.8	.5 to .55	म[हा]राज श्री प्रभा	Animal figure graceful; <i>rev.</i> saucer-shaped. Pl. IV, 11
20	31.6	.45 to .5	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	Worn.
21	30.5	.45	महाराज श्री प्रभ	This coin may have been mistaken for that of Puṁ-Nāga. The curve ending <i>ra</i> is just below <i>pa</i> , to make it appear as <i>pu</i> , and parts of <i>bha</i> are separated so to appear as <i>ma</i> and <i>na</i> .* Pl. IV, 12
22	28.9	.45	महाराज श्री प्र[भ]	Note as on No. 21. Pl. IV, 13
23	28.3	.4	[महाराज श्री] प्रभाकर	Partly clipped; <i>bhā</i> very distinct and the middle stroke of <i>ka</i> joined to <i>ra</i> .

* These details are very clear on the coin but have not well come out on Pl.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
24	27.96	·4 to ·45	[महाराज श्री] प्रभाकर	Edge peeled off.
25	25.4	·35 to ·4	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	Upper parts of letters clipped at edge.
26	21.72	·3 to ·35	महाराज श्री प्र[भ]	Shape oval.
27	21.5	·4 to ·45	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	Clipped around edge; see <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XV, p. 134, No. 4 & pl.
28	15.77	·4	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	Thin; small with complete legend.
29	13.1	·35 to ·4	महाराज श्री प्रभाकर	Good coin with complete legend & graceful figure of lion. Pl. IV, 14

DEVA NĀGA

TYPE: WHEEL & LEGEND

Obverse—Wheel in a dotted circle.

Reverse—Circular Brāhmī legend around the edge,

VII, महाराज श्री देव (देवेन्द्र) नाग or देव नागेन्द्र.

(*Mahārāja Śrī Deva (Devendra) nāga or Devanāgendra.*)

Var. *a*:—Showing the wheel with eight spokes.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
1	55·28	·45 to ·5	महाराज श्री देव	Broken; legend in incuse; <i>Śrīde</i> complete.
2	55	·35 to ·4	महाराज श्री देव नाग	Thick; partly broken.
3	42·96	·3 to ·35	महाराज श्री देव ना	As No. 2.
4	42·73	·4 to ·43	महाराज श्री देव	'Peeled around the edge.
5	37·34	·35 to ·4	महाराज श्री देव नागेन्द्र	Peeled around the edge; oval; preserves complete legend.
6	35·15	·4	महाराज श्री देव ना[ग]	Upper parts of letters cut at edge.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
7	33.82	•35 to •4	महाराज श्री देव ना[—]	Letters clear but clipped in upper parts. Pl. IV, 15
8	33.28	•35	महाराज श्री देव	Rev. saucer-shaped. <i>De</i> is complete and clear. Pl. IV, 16
9	33.03	•45	महाराज श्री देव ना[ग]	Letters clear.
10	31.96	•4 to •45	महाराज श्री देव	Reverse saucer-shaped. <i>va</i> & <i>ma</i> combined. Pl. IV, 17
11	29.53	•4	महाराज श्री देव[नागेन्द्र?]	Slightly clipped.
12	25.31	•35 to •4	महाराज श्री देव	<i>Va</i> elongated.
13	25.1	•35 to •4	[—]ज श्री देव नाग	Peeled off at edge and therefore oval.
14	24.25	•35 to •4	महाराज श्री देव [ना]गेन्द्र	Long top-stroke over <i>va</i> . Pl. IV, 18
15	24.2	•45 to •5	महाराज श्री देवेन्द्र *	See <i>J.N.S.I.</i> , XV, p. 133, No. 1 & Pl. IV, 19

*Carefully studying the legend on the coin itself the reading appears to me to be देवेन्द्र and not देवनाग, as shown in *J.N.S.I.*

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
16	23.87	.3 to .4	महाराज श्री देव नाग (OR देवेन्द्र ?)	Slightly corroded on <i>obv.</i>
17	23.5	.35	महाराज श्री देव	Upper Parts of letters slightly clipped.
18	22.9	.4	महाराज श्री देव	As No. 17.
19	22	.35 to .45	[महा]राज श्री देव	See <i>J.N.S.I., ibid.</i> , No. 2.
20	21.56	.4	महारा[ज] श्री देव	Wheel graceful. <i>Deva</i> is very clear. Pl. IV, 20
21	21.43	.35	महाराज श्री देवेन्द्र [—]	Legend complete but upper parts of letters clipped or out of flan.
22	21.25	.35	महाराज श्री देव	Wheel graceful.
23	19.63	.35	महाराज श्री देव	As above.
24	12.84	.3	[महाराज] श्री देव	<i>Rev.</i> is saucer- shaped.
25	18.51	.35 to .4	महाराज श्री देव [—]	Wheel very grace- ful; in the legend <i>De</i> is blurred.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
26	17.34	.3 to .35	महाराज श्री देव	Wheel graceful; <i>Deva</i> very clear.
27	17.18	.25 to .3	[महाराज] श्री देव	Of smaller denomination; legend partially come out.
28	16.8	.4	महाराज श्री देव	Wheel graceful; reverse saucer-shaped. Pl. IV, 21
29	16.75	.3 to .35	[महा]राज श्री देव	Wheel graceful; shows smaller denomination.
<p style="text-align: center;">Sub-variety (i)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Obv. & Rev.</i>:—The same, but the wheel showing a dot in the angles of the spokes.</p>				
30	23.75	.4		Slightly broken at edge; <i>rev.</i> saucer-shaped; legend not well impressed. Pl. IV, 22
31	22.18	.35 to .4	महाराज श्री देव	In mint condition.
<p style="text-align: center;">var. <i>b</i> (rare)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Obv. & Rev.</i>:—The same, but the wheel showing six spokes.</p>				
32	45.03	.4 to .42	महाराज श्री देव	Slightly peeled off at edge.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
33	28.2	.35 to .4	महाराज श्री देव	As No. 32. Pl. IV, 23
34	20.5	.3 to .35	म[हा]राज श्री देव ना	As above; <i>Deva</i> very distinct.
35	17.18	.3 to .35	महाराज श्री देव	On <i>obv.</i> the wheel shows a dot in angles of spokes.
Var. c				
<i>Obverse & Reverse</i> —The same as above but the wheel has many spokes.				
36	40.78	.4 to .45	—ज श्री देव—	Partially clipped at edge; wheel with sixteen spokes. Pl. IV, 24
37	27.95	.3 to .35		The coin being clipped, the wheel is not complete; it appears to be of sixteen spokes. Pl. IV, 25
TYPE: TRIDENT & LEGEND				
<i>Obverse</i> —Trident in a dotted circle.				
<i>Reverse</i> —Legend as in the preceding type.				
38	19.06	.3 to .35	महाराज दे (भ ?) व	<i>Mahā</i> clipped and <i>rāja</i> bigger in size. Pl. IV, 26

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
39	18.67	·35 to ·4	[—]राज श्री दे (म ?) व नाग	<i>Mahā</i> blurred. Pl. IV, 27
40	9.89	·3 to ·35	[—]राज दे (म ?)व—	As above. Pl. IV, 28
<p><i>N. B.:</i> The attribution of these three coins (38-40) is doubtful, as the initial letter of the name can also be read as <i>Bha</i> (Bhava ?).</p> <p>Unrepresented type :</p> <p>Bull type coin of Deva, for which see <i>C.M.I.</i>, p. 25, No. 23. Also cf. Pl. V, No. 36 of the present work.</p>				

GAṆAPATI NĀGA

TYPE: BULL & LEGEND

Var. a (i)

Obverse— Humped bull, walking to l., in a dotted circle.

Reverse— Circular Brāhmī legend, around the edge;

महाराज श्री गण(न)पतीन्द्र.

[*Mahārāja Śrī Gaṇa(na)patīndra*]

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
1	25.15	·35 to ·4	[—] गनपतीन्द्र	Letters of epithet are out of flan.
2	24.5	·3 to ·35	" "	Upper parts of letters clipped at edge.
3	23.75	·3 to ·35	महाराज श्री गनपतीन्द्र	As above; in poor condition.
4	22.21	·4 to ·45	महाराज श्री गनपतीन्द्र	Partly clipped at edge. Pl. IV, 29
5	21.60	·4	महाराज श्री गनपतीन्द्र	Rev. saucer-shaped. Pl. IV, 30
6	20.52	·4 × ·3	[—रा— श्री] गणपतीन्द्र	Apparently rectangular.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
7	18.97	·3 × ·35	[महाराज] श्री गनपतीन्द्र	As above. Pl. IV, 31
8	18.82	·35 to ·4	महाराज श्री गनपतीन्द्र	Upper parts of some letters clipped.
9	16.56	·35 to ·4	महाराज श्री ग[—]पतीन्द्र	Slight cut on edge, but <i>n</i> of <i>ndra</i> very clear.
Var. <i>a</i> (ii)				
<i>Obverse & Reverse</i> —The same as above, but with the name <i>Gaṇa(na)pēndra</i> .				
10	52.96	·4 to ·5	महाराज श्री [—]पेन्द्र	Roughly round; thick; legend partly preserved.
11	29.0	·4 to ·45	महाराज श्री गनपेन्द्र	Irregularly round. Pl. IV, 32
12	27.2	·35 to ·4	[महाराज] श्री गणपेन्द्र	Legend in incuse; letters of epithet out of flan.
13	26.84	·4 to ·45	महाराज श्री गणपेन्द्र	Rev. is saucer- shaped. Pl. IV, 33
14	22.99	·4 × ·35	महाराज श्री गणपेन्द्र	Clipped; squarish. Pl. IV, 34

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
15	22.15	.35 to .4	महाराज श्री गणपेन्द्र	Legend complete. Pl. IV, 35
16	21.5	.4 to .45	महाराज श्री गणपेन्द्र	Worn; upper parts of letters clipped at edge.
17	19.75	.35	महाराज श्री गणपेन्द्र	<i>Pa</i> corroded; letters clear.
18	17.65	.4 to .43	महाराज श्री गणपेन्द्र	<i>Rev.</i> saucer-shap- ed; letters of name smaller than those of epithet. Pl. IV, 36
19	9.85	.3	[—] श्री गणपेन्द्र	As on No. 1.
Var. a (iii)				
<i>Obverse & Reverse</i> —The same as above, but with the name <i>Gaṇe(ne)ndra</i> .				
20	61.40	.4 to .45	महाराज श्री गणेन्द्र	Thick; roughly circular.
21	37.03	.4 to .45	महाराज श्री गणेन्द्र	<i>Mahā</i> clipped at edge.
22	2.25	.35 to .4	महाराज श्री गणेन्द्र	Slightly peeled off at the edge. Pl. IV, 37

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
23	25.65	.35	महाराज श्री गणेश	<i>Rev.</i> is saucer-shaped. Pl. IV, 38
24	21.87	.35 to .37	महाराज श्री गणेश	A dot for <i>nā</i> after the name. Pl. IV, 39
25	19.59	.35 × .55	महाराज श्री गणेश *	Oblong. Pl. IV, 40
26	19.13	.4	महाराज श्री गणेश	Letters distinct. Pl. IV, 41
27	18.97	.3 to .4		Rectangular.
28	17.3	.35	[महा]राज श्री गणेश	<i>Ndra</i> unusually long.
29	15.27	.35	महाराज श्री ग[—]	Bull walking to l., but with face turned to front. Pl. IV, 42
30	11.71	.3 to .32	महाराज श्री गणेश	Pl. IV, 43
31	8.90	.13 to .35	[महाराज श्री] गणेश	Protrusion on edge; legend blurred. Pl. IV, 44

* The letters are distinct on the coin but blurred on Plate.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
32	5.40	.25	महाराज श्री गणेश	Legend complete. Pl. IV, 45
33	2.16	.2 to .25	महा[राज] श्री गणेश	Thin; noteworthy for denomination; <i>ma</i> ornamental. Pl. IV, 46
<p>Var. <i>a</i> (iv)</p> <p><i>Obv. & Rev.</i>—The same as above, but with the name <i>Gaṇa(na)pati</i> (extremely rare)*</p>				
34	11.09	.3 to .35	[महाराज श्री] गणपति	Small protrusion on edge; letters not well-formed. Pl. V, 1
35	10.47	.35	महाराज श्री गणपति	Formation of letters as on No. 34. Pl. V, 2
<p>Var. <i>a</i> (v)</p> <p><i>Obv. & Rev.</i>—The same as above, but with only the initial <i>Ga</i> of the name.</p>				
36	14.11	.35	महाराज श्री ग	No space for any letter between <i>ga</i> and <i>ma</i> .
37	7.81	.3	” ”	” ” ”
38	45.03	.25	” ”	” ” ”

* Only two coins of this variety have been known far.

No.	Wt.	Size	Legend	Remark
Var. <i>b</i> (rare)*				
<i>Obverse & Reverse</i> —The same as in Var. <i>a</i> , but with the animal walking to right.				
39	13·75	·35	महाराज श्री गनप[—]	Worn and corroded.
40		·3 to ·32	महाराज श्री [गन]	Upper parts of letters out of flan.
41	7·34	·25 to ·3	महाराज श्री ग[—]	<i>Ga</i> followed by the <i>ma</i> of the epithet, showing that only the initial letter of the name was intended. Pl. V, 3
Var. <i>c</i> (extremely rare)				
<i>Obverse & Reverse</i> —The same as in the preceding Variety, but with the animal squatting left.				
42	36·5	·35	महाराज[श्च] ग—द्र	Thick with incomplete legend. Pl. V, 4
43	34 8	„	„	As above.

* Better coins of this variety were obtained at Kutwār; see Pl. VI.

UNCERTAIN COINS

Note—All these coins are illustrated on **Pl. VI**, under the respective numbers.

No.	Wt.	Size	Obverse	Reverse
CLASS I (Nāga coins)				
Var. <i>a</i> (legend crudely arranged)				
1	27·81	·3 to ·35	Bull 1.	म-रा ... गद्र (गरोन्द्र?).
2	18·75	·3	„	महाराज श्री-गोद्र (गरोन्द्र?).
3	15·15	·35	„	म[हाराज] श्री —जद्र; गजेन्द्र or राजेन्द्र (?).
Var. <i>b</i> (showing new names)				
4	26·71	·4	As on No. 3.	महाराज श्री शर्व [र्व?].
5	21·87	·35	„	महाराज श्री ह (?); हर (?).
6	32·28 (clipped)	·4	Peacock 1.	Two lines as on Skanda's coins; the legend is [म—]ज श्री [मु]खस्य (?).
Var. <i>c</i> (re-struck?)				
7	31·93	Rect., ·35	Tail of peacock.	Type as above; —मन—(भीम नाग ?).
8	The same as of Skanda, No. 26, described above. *			
9	36·56	·5	Traces as of peacock.	Traces of letters; in incuse, IX, नागस्य.

* The photograph, as arranged on the Pl., shows, on obverse, a couchant bull; but turning it to right, at 90 degrees, we see a horse, prancing left and facing a crescent-like object within a circle of dots.

No.	Wt.	Size	Obverse	Reverse
10	34.61	.5	Traces as of peacock.	VII, महाराज स्क[न्द—].
11	37.6	.35 to .4	Peacock.	In incuse, ———IX, राज[स्क].
12	32.97	.47	„	XII, स्कन्द; traces of original letters on edge.
13	48.15	.45	Horizontal line; traces of legend, above and below.	VII, म————गस्य; of स्कन्द (?): *
14	45.31	.4 to .45	Traces of peacock (?) above a line, with traces below.	IX, [ग]स्य in incuse; two lines with traces.
15	34.23	.45	Peacock & traces.	In incuse, IX, ज स्कन्द ना[————].
16	27.5	.4	„	In incuse, XII, स्क [————]; parallel lines as on Skanda's coins.
17	28.84 (clipped)	.35 to .4	Uncertain animal, (lion or horse ?), l.; traces on edge.	Inscription illegible; probably IX, स्कन्द——.
18	26.87	.4	Peacock's tail, graceful; with some indistinct marks.	Spear-head; traces of legend, above & below.
19	33.91	.35 to .4	Traces of peacock; other traces on edge.	Inscription illegible.

* Curiously enough, this coin shows remains of letters on both the sides.

No.	Wt.	Size	Obverse	Reverse
20	26.4	.35	Peacock l.	म in centre; traces of letters around.
21	34.56	.4 to .45	Peacock l.	Parallel lines as on Skanda's coins; legend illegible.
Var. <i>d</i> (Unattributed)				
22	24.68 (clipped)	.4	Trident.	Cut at edge; VII, महाराज ग [or म ?].
23	12.2	Rect. .3 × .35	Tree with other traces.	—मह...नाग [स] in two lines.
24	33.43	.4 to .45	Peacock l.	XII-VI, स्कन्द नाग [?], crudely arranged.
Var. <i>e</i> (legend incomplete)				
25	9.37	.25 to .3	Bull l.	म in centre; traces of legend around.
26	8.75			
27	13.75			
28	6.09	„	Bull l.	As preceding; श्री in incuse.
29	4.21	.25	Bull l.	As preceding; प्र(?).
30	12.34	.3	Bull l.	As preceding; मह.
CLASS 2 (Coins other than those of the Nāgas)				
Var. <i>a</i> (Mālava)				
31	12.06	.35	Humped bull l.	मपय; cf. <i>I. M. C.</i> , Pl. XXI, 1.

No.	Wt.	Size	Obverse	Reverse
32	9.21	4 × 4.5*	Obliterated. Var. <i>b</i> (Mālava?)	Symbols as on <i>I. M. C.</i> , Pl. XX, 25; ज(?) य.
33	12.34	3 × 3.5	Uncertain traces; tree (?).	मसतन्द्रय above; six- armed wheel followed by Ujjain symbol, below; river with fishes at the bottom of edge. †
34	12.03	3.5 × 4	„	„
			Var. <i>c.</i> (Unassigned)	
35	33.47	4.5	Obliterated.	Top rubbed; below, Ujjain symbol & tree in railing.
36	16.1	3.5	Tree; uncertain traces.	Humped bull 1. with traces at top.
37	7.65	3	Eight-armed sym- bol, with taurine in angles.	Worn; illegible.
38	22.8	5 (broken)	Wheel within a circle.	Traces of letters.
39	15.86	3.5 to 4	Type indistinct.	Wheel; traces of महाराज at top.
40	4.53	3	Wheel.	Traces in circle of dots.

*The original shape of this coin cannot be ascertained.

†The reading has been made out from this and the following coin taken together.
It may be suggested that म is used for मालव and सतेन्द्रय (शतेन्द्रस्य) for one who
was at the head of a hundred (?).

VRISHA NĀGA (additional)

TYPE: BULL & LEGEND

Obverse—Humped bull, facing; Brāhmī legend, on r. edge, महाराजस (Mahārājasa); on l., वृषनागस (Vṛishanāgasa).*

Reverse—Bull of a different type.

No.	Wt.	Size rectangular	Remark	Pl.
1	34.2	·35 × ·4	Thick; device and legend in incuse and blurred.†	V, 6
2	22.65	·4 × ·45	Letters of name partly visible; thick dot in place of <i>sa</i> .	V, 7
3	21.56	·35 × ·4	Parts of letters lost in depression.	V, 8
4	18.44	·35 × ·4	Corroded; <i>shanāga</i> distinct; last <i>sa</i> partly cut on edge.	V, 9
5	18.28	Broken	Edge clipped all around.	V, 10
6	18.2	·35 × ·4	Obverse faint; letters of name cut at edge.	V, 11
7	17.67	·4	<i>Rājasa</i> & [nā]gasa distinct.	V, 12
8	17.18	·35 × ·4	Worn.	V, 13
9	16.41	·35 × ·3	<i>Rājasa</i> complete and clear.	V, 14
10	16.2	Irregular	Corroded & blurred but showing <i>nāgasa</i> distinctly.	V, 15
11	14.59	·35 × ·4	Corroded; Mahārāja[sa] distinct.	V, 16
12	14.52	·3 × ·35	Clipped on edge.	V, 17
13	13.9	Irregular; truncated.	Legend missing; additional indistinct symbol on l. ‡	V, 18
14	12.5	Clipped.	<i>Hārāja</i> distinct.	V, 19
15	Round, ·6; Wt. 46.72 grains; in poor condition. <i>Obv.</i> —Indistinct traces. <i>Rev.</i> —Standing human figure; <i>syastika</i> at VI, followed by legend <i>Rājño Vṛisha[bha]va.....</i>			

* On none of the coins enlisted here the legend is complete.

† What appears below *ga* is merely an encrustation on the coin.

‡ A part of the symbol is clear on the coin but blurred on pl. It is a symbol and not a letter.

SUPPLEMENTARY

A. NĀGA COINS FROM KUTWĀR, (MORENA) M. P.

DEVA	Pl.
(i) Wheel type; half <i>Kākiṇī</i> , but with the name <i>Devanandana</i> (?).	V, 24
GAṆAPATI	
(ii) Bull l.; rect.; with name <i>Gaṇapendra</i> .	V, 25
(iii) Type as above, legend fragmentary; <i>Śrī</i> and <i>ga</i> beautifully joined.	V, 26
(iv) As above; round, of smaller denomination.	V, 27
(v) Type as above, with name <i>Gaṇendra</i> , in letters smaller than those of epithet.	V, 28
(vi) Quarter <i>Kākiṇī</i> , '3"; name fragmentary but showing the <i>ma</i> unusually bigger.	V, 29
(vii) Type the same; showing the letters <i>rājaśrī</i> in a horizontal line.	V, 30
(viii) One-eighth <i>Kākiṇī</i> , '3"; showing <i>ga</i> beautifully engraved and with only a dot between it and the initial <i>ma</i> .	V, 31
(ix) Bull r., rare; half <i>Kākiṇī</i> , name <i>Gaṇapendra</i> .	V, 32
(x) As above; quarter <i>Kākiṇī</i> ,; name <i>Ganendra</i> .	V, 33

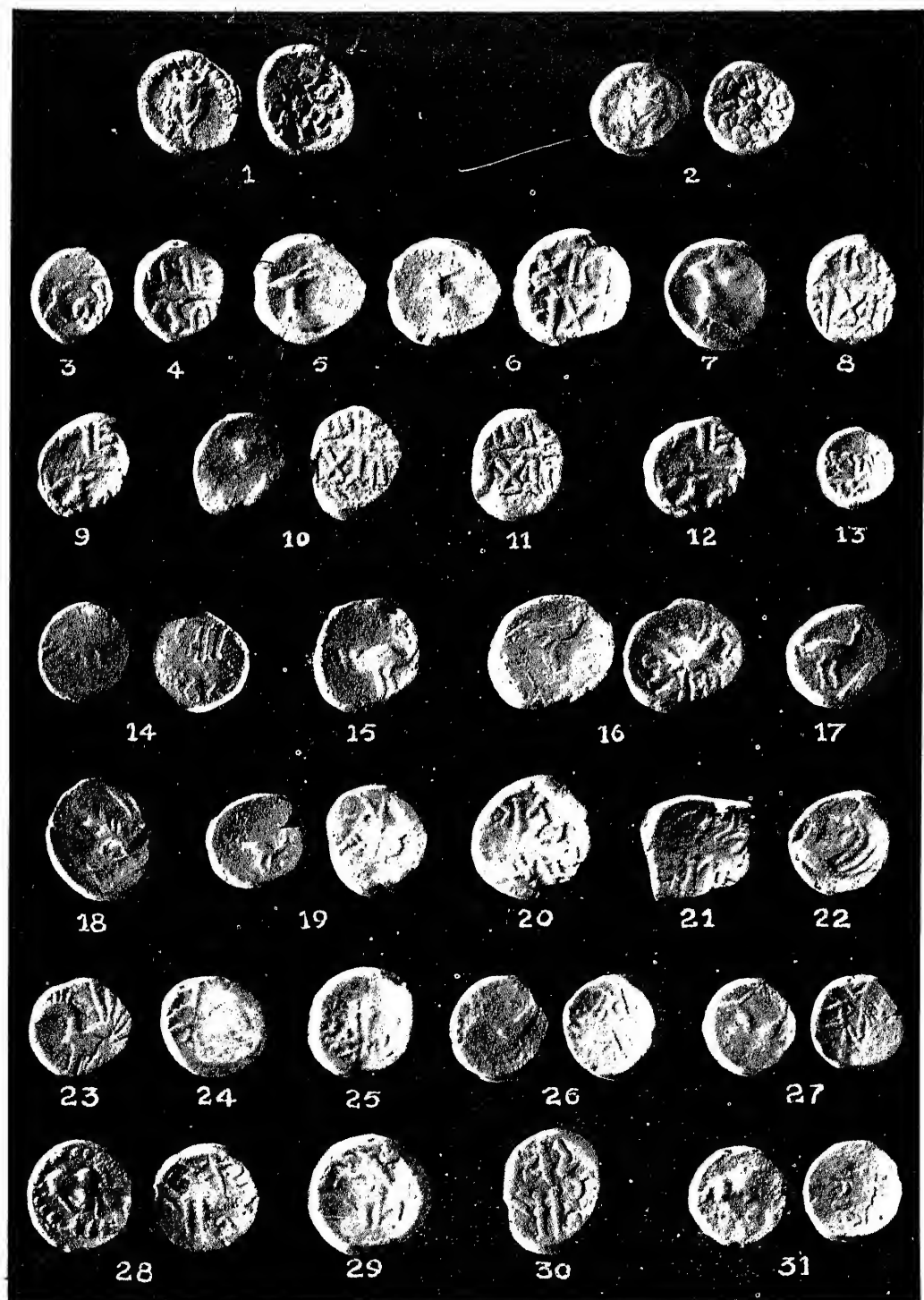
UNIDENTIFIED

(xi) Type bull l.; legend fragmentary and not well arranged; possibly of <i>Gaṇendra</i> .	V, 34
(xii) Type the same; legend, <i>Mahārāja Śrī Na</i> -(<i>Nava</i> ?), or <i>Ga</i> (?).	V, 35
(xiii) Type the same; legend [<i>Mahārāja</i>] <i>Śrī Da</i> (?), <i>Deva</i> (?).	V, 36

B. COINS OF NAVA & VĪRASENA (from Pawāyā)

(xiv) NAVA:—Round, .65; Wt. 54.77; type as of <i>B.M.C.A.I.</i> , p. 154, No. 38.	V, 21
(xv) VĪRASENA:—Rect., .4 × .45; Wt. 22.5; type as of <i>I.M.C.</i> , p. 197, No. 5; corroded; sketch of female is missing.	V, 22

PLATE I



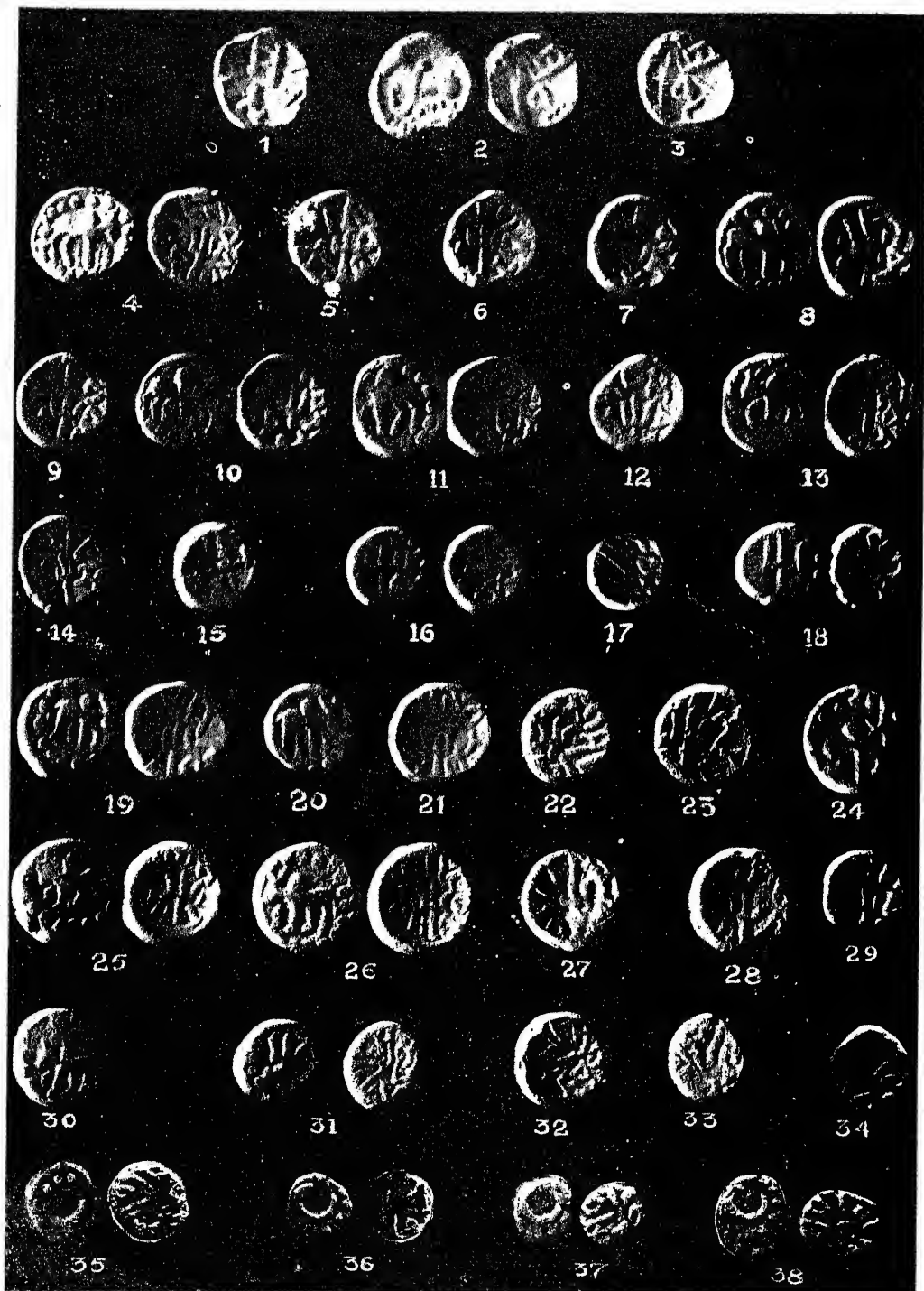
VRISHA (1-2); BHIMA (3-13); SKANDA (14-31)

PLATE II



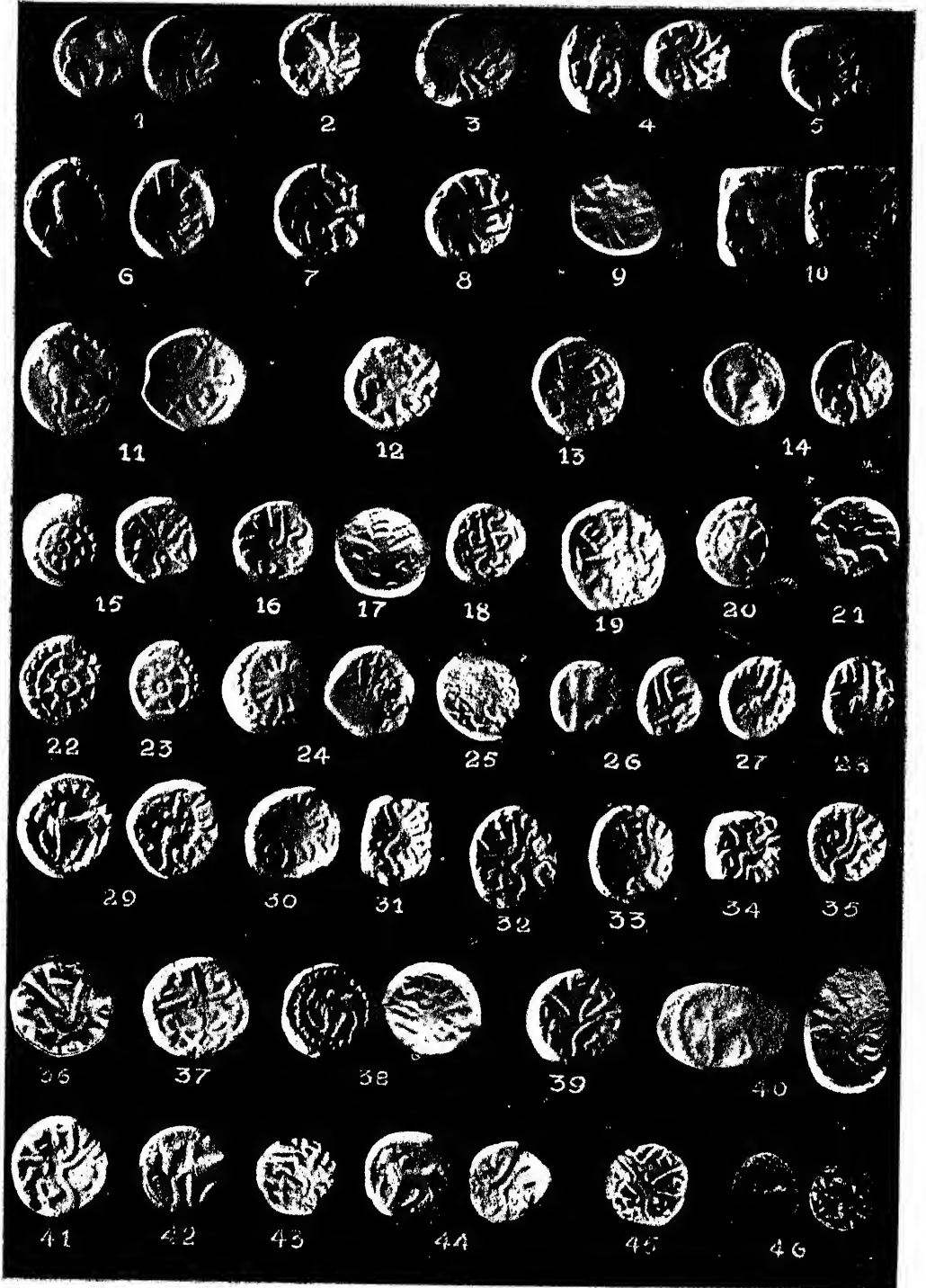
VASU (1—11) ; BRIHASPATI (12—26) ; VIBHU (27—40).

PLATE III



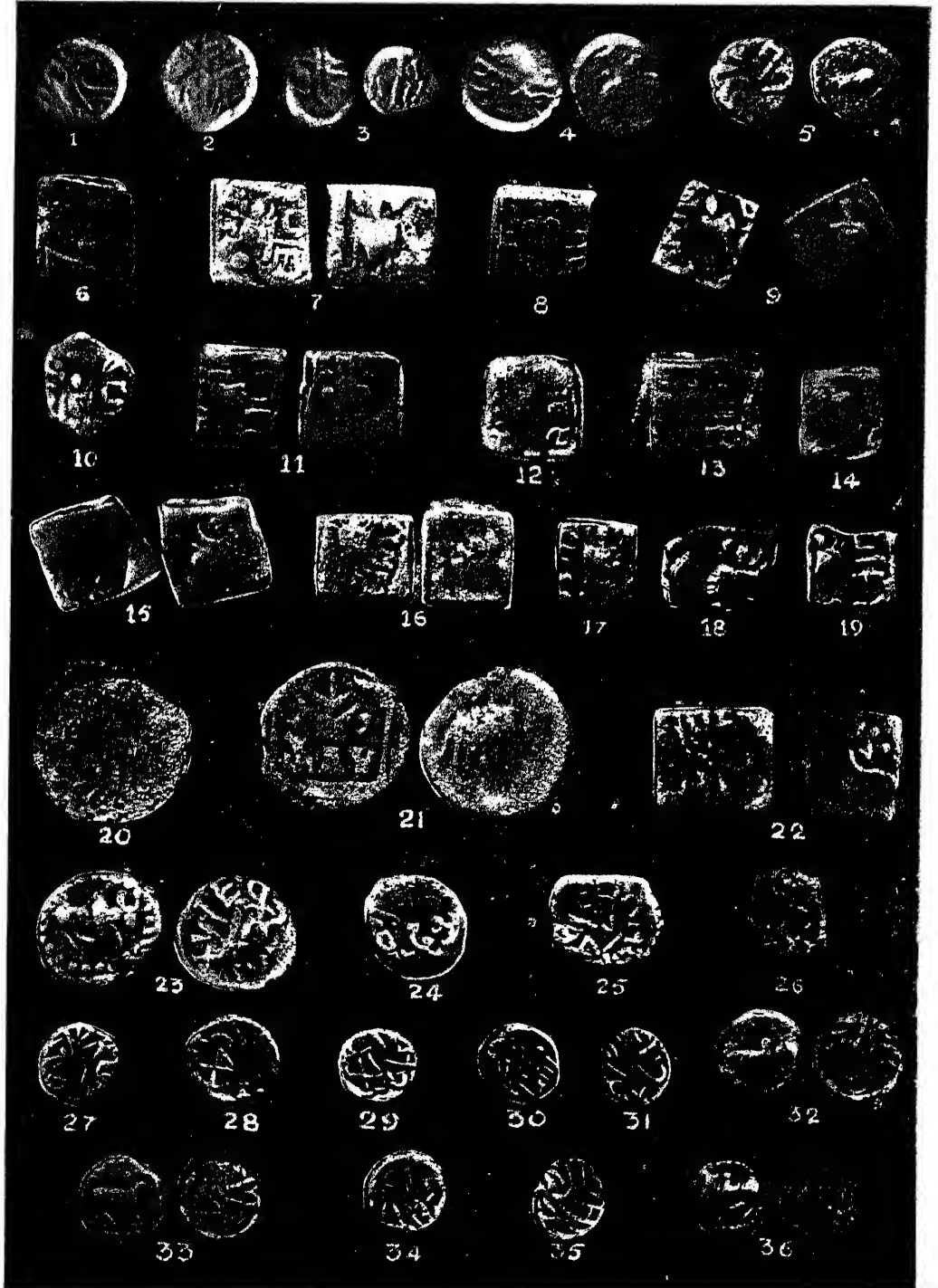
RAVI (1-3) ; BHAVA (4-38).

PLATE IV



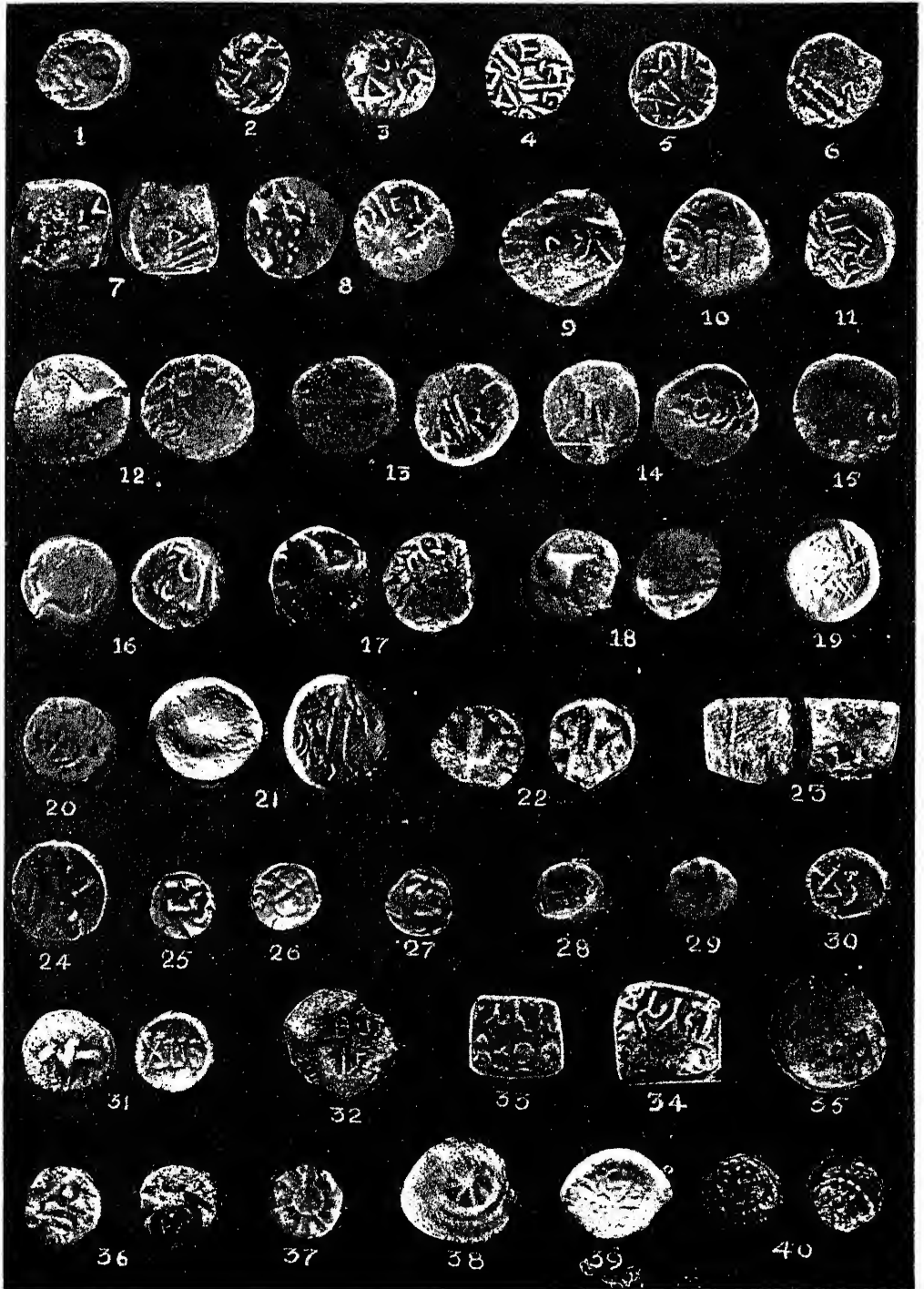
PRABHĀKARA (1-14) ; DEVA (15-28) ; GAṆAPATĪ (29-46).

PLATE V



GAṆAPATI (1-5); VṚISHA (6-20); NAVA (21);
VĪRASENA (22); MISCELLANEOUS (23-36)

PLATE VI



UNCERTAIN; NĀGA & OTHER COINS.

PLATE VII

ॐ ५ १ ६ १ ७ ४ ५ २ ०

म हा रा ज श्री वृ ष भ व

Ma hā rā ja Śrī Vri sha bha va

श्री - १ वृ - ७ ४ ५

ष - ४ भ - २

ॐ ५ १ ६ [५] १ ४ २ ० ५

म हा रा ज [स] भी म ना ग [स]

Ma hā rā ja [sa] Bhī ma Nā ga [sa]

हा - ७ ४ ५

रा - ८

ना - ४ ४ ४ ४

ॐ ५ १ ६ ४ २ २ ० ४

म हा रा ज स्क न्द ना ग स्य

Ma hā rā ja Ska nda Nā ga sya

हा - ७ ४

स्य - ४

न्द - ७ ४ ४ ४

ग - ०

स्क - ४ ४ ४

ना - ४ ४ ४

स्कन्द ४ ४

ॐ ५ १ ६ ० ४ २ ० ४

म हा रा ज व सु ना ग स्य

Ma hā rā ja Va su Nā ga sya

रा - ७

व - ४ ४

सु - ४ ४ ४

ना - ४ ४

स्य - ४ ४

ॐ ५ १ ६ ७ ४ २ ० ४

म हा रा ज बृ ह स्प ति ना ग

Ma hā rā ja Bṛi ha spa ti Nā ga

हा - ७ ४

ज - ६

रा - ७ ४

हा - ७ ४ ४

बृ - ४ ४ ४ ४

बृ ४ ४ ४ ४

स्प - ४ ४ ४

ति - ४ ४ ४ ४

ख 5 ग E मृ ३ ५ न ० म - ख ख ना - न न

म हा रा ज श्री वि भु ना ग रा - ग ग श्री - ग ग
Ma hā rā ja Śrī Vi bhu Nā ga वि ३ ग ० ०

हा - 5 ५ 5 भु - न न न न न न न न

[ख ५ ग] E मृ १ ३ ...

[म हा रा] ज श्री र वि ...
[Ma hā rā] ja Śrī Ra vi ...

ख 5 ग E न ५ न ० म - ख ख हा - ५ ५ -

म हा रा ज भ व ना ग ५ ५ अ - म म म म -
Ma hā rā ja Bha va Nā ga म म म ध - ५ ५

म व ग E मृ ल ५ न ० धि - व व रा - ग ग -

अ धि रा ज श्री भ व ना ग ग ग ग ग
A dhi rā ja Śrī Bha va Nā ga श्री - ग ग ग ग

भ - न न न न न न न न न न न न -

न न न न न व - ५ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५

ना - न न न न न न न न न न न न

ख 5 ग E मृ पु ३ ५ म - ख ख रा - ग ग

म हा रा ज श्री प्र भा क र श्री - ग ग प्र - ५ ५ ५ -
Ma hā rā ja Śrī Pra bhā ka ra पु ५ ५ भा - ५ ५ -

भा न न न न क - ५ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५ र - ५ ५

85 7E 9 2A 30 H-XXXXXX

हा. ५५७५७

रा- JJJJJ ज- EE

[illegible]

ना- ५ ५ ५

५२ - दृष्टदृष्ट

ब- ढढढढ ग- २

५५१६ ११५(क)०१५ म- ५५५५

XYXX

हा - ५५५५

र - ११ ज - ६

श्री - १ ग - १ -

תהיה

रा- ननननन

न - क क क क

प - व व व

पे - ७७७

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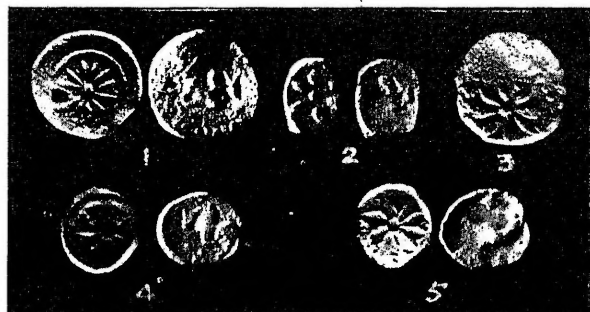
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म - 

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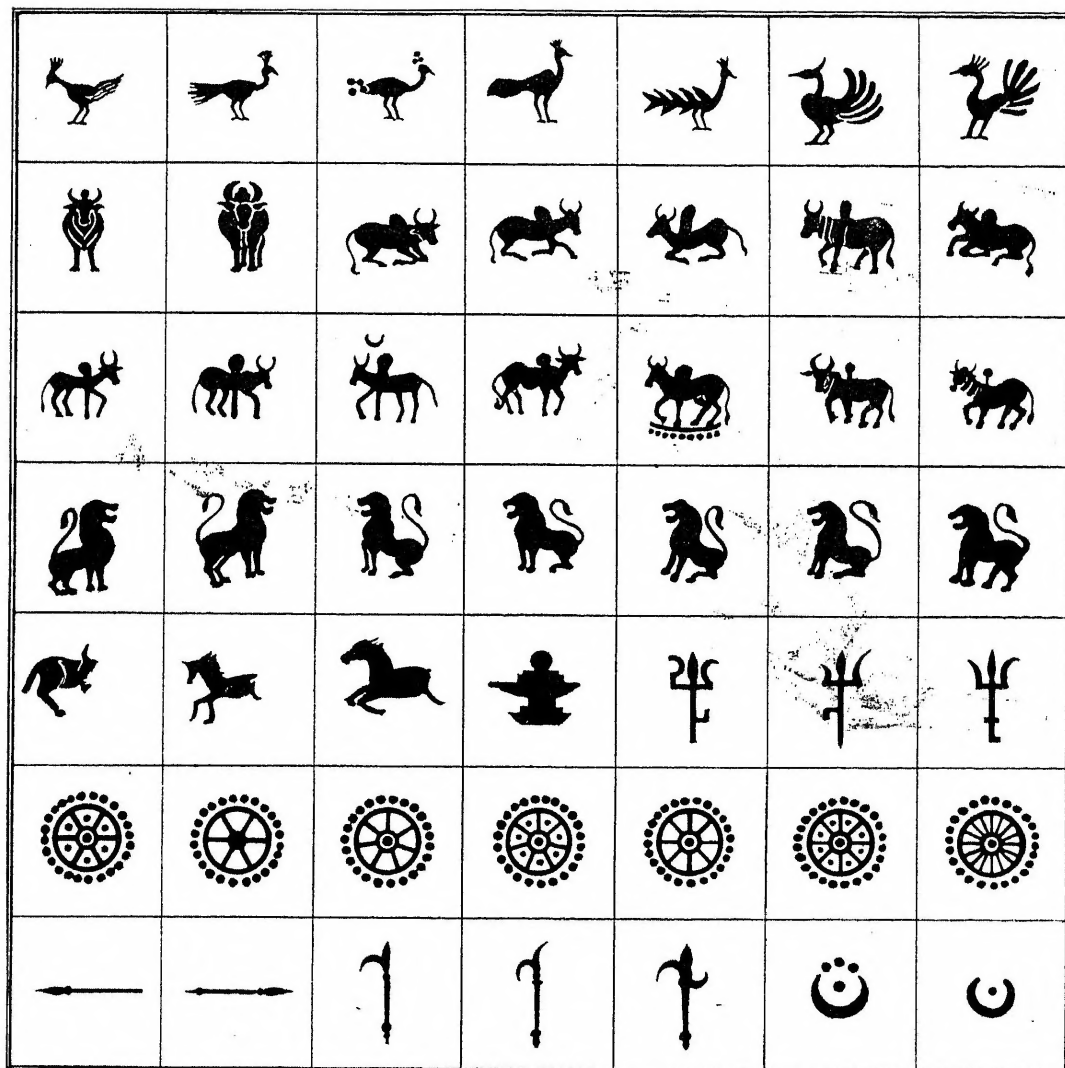


PLATE X A



UNIQUE COINS (p. x 1)

B



SYMBOLS ON NĀGA COINS

Coms \checkmark < Naga Kings

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